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The JEWS IN POLAND

Official Reports of
The American and British Investigating Missions

1. *The Morgenthau Report*
2. *The Jadwin and Johnson Report*
3. *Letter of Sir H. Rumbold*
4. *The Samuel Report*
5. *The White Report*
6. *Miscellaneous Letters*
7. *The Situation*
8. *The Minority Rights Treaty*

Published in order to bring about a better understanding of the necessity for honest and constructive effort in solving a problem that is only made more difficult by attacks and recriminations.

The National Polish Committee of America
1214 North Ashland Ave., Chicago, Ill.

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The American and British Investigating Missions

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THE NATIONAL POLISH COMMITTEE OF AMERICA

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PREFACE

THIS booklet, containing the complete reports of the American and British Missions to Poland, is published in order to bring about a better understanding of the necessity for honest and constructive effort in solving a problem that is only made more difficult by attacks and recriminations. These reports should be studied carefully by the reader. Unfortunately certain portions of the Morgenthau Report and a great deal of the Samuel Report have been used by certain groups of propagandists in a manner that must have been distressing at least to Mr. Morgenthau. Therefore, it was felt to be a duty to have all the reports published in full, that they might be studied and compared in fairness to the question itself.

Poles and Jews must live together in Poland. No race or religion can claim a monopoly of virtue. If certain elements of the Polish population have at times apparently persecuted the Jews, perhaps there was some real reason for their antagonism. A study of these Reports may give some of the reasons for such periodic outbreaks. Moreover, a study of these Reports cannot fail to result in complete vindication of the Polish Government. So far as the Polish people have been concerned, in Poland proper, "eighteen Jews lost their lives," according to the British Minister to Poland. It is difficult to indict a people on the record made by groups of outlaw soldiery on an active front.

Examples of inflammatory propaganda are quoted in this booklet. These are typical, and no effort was made to pick out the most violent. Every newspaper reader is familiar with this propaganda, and its constant repetition has won many to an unjustified hatred of the Polish people. It is often forgotten that these voices carry far, and that the impression made upon the Pole fighting for his country is not always consistent with perpetual peace and harmony between this Pole and his Jewish neighbor in Poland.

Violence of expression, the waging of bitter anti-Polish propaganda in the United States, picketing the Polish Legation, reporting in Hearst newspapers "pogrom" atrocities laid to Poles in towns still many miles east of the Russian military front, "mourning" parades, delegations to the President all these organized and well financed endeavors to assist Jewry by destroying the dearly won freedom of Poland are the most deadly threats to the Jews of Poland, and draw a bitter line of cleavage between Jew and Pole when it seems that the moderate elements are joining together in a common effort to improve the relations of those peoples who had decades ago lived together in mutual respect and harmony. Such relentless antagonism as was shown in certain of the Yiddish press that condemned Morgenthau because he did not report more killed than the facts allowed, acts like salt on old wounds.

There must be a rapprochement between Poles and Jews in Poland. There never can be until the circumstances of their modes of living and thinking are understood; until serious men give serious thought and work without bitterness toward the solution of an undeniable problem. It is to help toward this solution that this booklet is published.

The Reports of the AMERICAN MISSION

LETTERS OF TRANSMITTAL

To the Senate:

I transmit herewith a report from the Secretary of State, with accompanying papers, in response to a resolution of the Senate requesting him to furnish that body, if not incompatible with the public interest, with the reports made by the mission of the United States to Poland, headed by the honorable Henry Morgenthau.

WOODROW WILSON.

The White House,

January 15, 1920.

The PRESIDENT:

The undersigned, the Secretary of State, in response to a resolution passed by the Senate of the United States on October 22 (calendar day, October 28), 1919, reading as follows:

Whereas it is understood that the mission of the United States Government to Poland, headed by Hon. Henry Morgenthau, has completed its work, and Mr. Morgenthau has made a report to the Secretary of State: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Secretary of State is hereby requested to send to the Senate, if it is not incompatible with the public interest, a copy of said report, has the honor to submit herewith for transmission to the Senate, if the President approve thereof, a copy of the report made by the honorable Henry Morgenthau, head of the mission, and a copy of a report made by the other members of the mission, Gen. Edgar Jadwin, United States Army, and Mr. Homer H. Johnson.

Respectfully submitted.

ROBERT LANSING.

Department of State,

Washington, January 14, 1920.

I The Morgenthau Report

American Commission to Negotiate Peace,
Mission to Poland,

Paris, October 3, 1919.

To the American commission to negotiate peace.

Gentlemen: 1. A mission, consisting of Mr. Henry Morgenthau, Brig. Gen. Edgar Jadwin, and Mr. Homer H. Johnson, was appointed by the American commission to negotiate peace to investigate Jewish matters in Poland. The appointment of such a mission had previously been requested by Mr. Paderewski, president of the council of ministers of the Republic of Poland. On June 30, 1919, Secretary Lansing wrote to this mission:

It is desired that the mission make careful inquiry into all matters affecting the relations between the Jewish and non-Jewish elements in Poland. This will, of course, involve the investigation of the various massacres, pogroms, and other excesses alleged to have taken place, the economic boycott, and other methods of discrimination against the Jewish race. The establishment of the truth in regard to these matters is not, however, an end in itself. It is merely for the purpose of seeking to discover the reason lying behind such excesses and discriminations with a view to finding a possible remedy. The American Government as you know, is inspired by a friendly desire to render service to all elements in the new Poland—Christians and Jews alike. I am convinced that any measures that may be taken to ameliorate the conditions of the Jews will also benefit the rest of the population and that, conversely, anything done for the community benefit of Poland as a whole will be of advantage to the Jewish race. I am sure that the members of your mission are approaching the subject in the right spirit, free from prejudice one way or the other, and filled with a desire to discover the truth and evolve some constructive measures to improve the situation which give concern to all the friends of Poland.

2. The mission reached Warsaw on July 13, 1919, and remained in Poland until September 13, 1919. All the places where the principal excesses had occurred were visited. In addition thereto the mission also studied the economic and social conditions in such places as Lodz, Krakau, Grodno, Kalisch, Posen, Cholm, Lublin, and Stanislawow. By automobile over 2,500 miles through Russian, Austrian, and German Poland, the mission also came into immediate contact with the inhabitants of the small towns and villages. In order properly to appreciate the present cultural and social conditions, the mission also visited educational institutions, libraries, hospitals, museums, art galleries, orphan asylums, and prisons.

3. Investigations of the excesses were made mostly in the presence of representatives of the Polish Government and of the Jewish communities. There were also present in many cases military and civil officials and, wherever possible, officials in command at the time the excesses occurred were conferred

with and interrogated. In this work the Polish authorities and the American minister to Poland, Mr. Hugh Gibson, lent the mission every facility. Deputations of all kinds of organizations were received and interviewed. A large number of public meetings and gatherings were attended, and the mission endeavored to obtain a correct impression of what had occurred, of the present mental state of the public, and of the attitude of the various factions toward one another.

4. The Jews first entered Poland in large numbers during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when they migrated from Germany and other countries as the result of severe persecutions. Their language was German, which subsequently developed into a Hebrew-German dialect, or Yiddish. As prior to this immigration only two classes or estates had existed in Poland (the owners and the tillers of the soil), the Jewish immigrant became the pioneer of trade and finance, settling in the towns and villages. As time went on it became generally known throughout Europe that Poland was a place of refuge for the Jews, and their numbers were augmented as a result of persecutions in western Europe. Still more recently, as a result of the expulsion of the Jews from Russia, on account of the enforcement of the pale of settlement, and of the May laws of 1882, their number was further increased.

5. Notwithstanding the fact that Poland has been a place of refuge for the Jews, there have been anti-Jewish movements at various times. The present anti-Semitic feeling took a definite political form after the Russian revolution of 1905. This feeling reached an intense stage in 1912, when the Polish National Democratic Party nominated an anti-Semite to represent Warsaw in the Russian Duma and the Jews cast their vote for a Polish Socialist and carried the election. The National Democratic Party then commenced a vigorous anti-Semitic campaign. During the German occupation this campaign was temporarily reduced. At the end of the Great War the chaotic and unnatural state of affairs in which Poland found itself gave good ground for a condition of social unrest, which, together with the world-stimulated tendency toward national self-determination, accentuated the feeling between Jewish and non-Jewish elements. The chauvinistic reaction created by the sudden acquisition of a long-coveted freedom ripened the public mind for anti-Semitic or anti-alien sentiment, which was strongly agitated by the press and by politicians. This finally encouraged physical manifestations of violent outcroppings of an unbalanced social condition.

6. When, in November, 1918, the Austrian and German armies of occupation left Poland there was no firm government until the arrival of Gen. Pilsudski, who had escaped from a German prison, and it was during this period, before the Polish Republic came into being, that the first of the excesses took place. (The mission has purposely avoided the use of the word "pogrom," as the word is applied to everything from petty outrages to premeditated and carefully organized massacres. No fixed definition is generally understood.) There were eight principal excesses, which are here described in chronological order.

(1) Kielce, November 11, 1918.

Shortly after the evacuation of the Austrian troops from Kielce the Jews of this city secured permission from the local authorities to hold a meeting in the Polski Theater. The purpose of this meeting was to discuss Jewish national aspirations.¹ It began shortly before 2 o'clock and filled the theater to overflowing. During the afternoon a small crowd of Polish civilians, largely composed of students, gathered outside of the theater. At 6.30 p. m. the meeting began to break up, and when only about 300 people remained in the theater, some militiamen entered and began to search for arms. A short while thereafter, and while the militiamen were still in the building, a crowd of civilians and some soldiers came into the auditorium and drove the Jews from the stairs. On the stairs there was a double line of men armed with clubs and bayonets, who beat the Jews as they left the building. After the Jews reached the street they were again beaten by a mob outside. As a result of this attack four Jews were killed and a large number wounded. A number of civilians have been indicted for participation in this excess, but have not as yet been brought to trial.

(2) Lemberg, November 21-23, 1918.

On October 30, 1918, when the Austrian Empire collapsed, the Ukrainian troops, formerly in the Austrian service, assumed control of the town. A few hundred Polish boys, combined with numerous volunteers of doubtful character, recaptured about half the city and held it until the arrival of Polish reinforcements on November 21. The Jewish population declared themselves neutral, but the fact that the Jewish quarter lay within the section occupied by the Ukrainians, and that the Jews had organized their own militia, and further, the rumor that some of the Jewish population had fired upon the soldiery, stimulated amongst the Polish volunteers an anti-Semitic bias that readily communicated itself to the relieving troops.² The situation was further complicated by the presence of some 15,000 uniformed deserters and numerous criminals released by the Ukrainians from local jails, who were ready to join in any disorder, particularly if, as in the case of wholesale pillage, they might profit thereby.

Upon the final departure of the Ukrainians, these

disreputable elements plundered to the extent of many millions of crowns the dwellings and stores in the Jewish quarter, and did not hesitate at murder when they met with resistance. During the ensuing disorders, which prevailed on November 21, 22, and 23, 64 Jews were killed and a large amount of property destroyed. Thirty-eight houses were set on fire, and owing to the paralysis of the fire department, were completely gutted. The Synagogue was also burned, and large numbers of the sacred scrolls of the law were destroyed. The repression of the disorders was rendered more difficult by the prevailing lack of discipline among the newly organized Polish troops, and by a certain hesitation among the junior officers to apply stern punitive measures. When officers' patrols under experienced leaders were finally organized on November 23, robbery and violence ceased.

As early as December 24, 1918, the Polish Government, through the ministry of justice, began a strict investigation of the events of November 21 and 23. A special commission, headed by a justice of the supreme court, sat in Lemberg for about two months, and rendered an extensive formal report which has been furnished this mission. In spite of the crowded dockets of the local courts, where over 7,000 cases are now pending, 164 persons, ten of them Jews, have been tried for complicity in the November disorders, and numerous similar cases await disposal. Forty-four persons are under sentences ranging from 10 days to 18 months. Aside from the civil courts, the local court-martial has sentenced military persons to confinement for as long as three years for lawlessness during the period in question. This mission is advised that on the basis of official investigations the Government has begun the payment of claims for damages resulting from these events.

(3) Pinsk, April 5, 1919.

Late in the afternoon of April 5, 1919, a month or more after the Polish occupation of Pinsk, some 75 Jews of both sexes, with the official permission of the town commander, gathered in the assembly hall at the People's House, in the Kupiecka Street, to discuss the distribution of relief sent by the American joint distribution committee. As the meeting was about to adjourn, it was interrupted by a band of soldiers, who arrested and searched the whole assembly, and, after robbing the prisoners, marched them at a rapid pace to gendarmerie headquarters. Thence the prisoners were conducted to the market place and lined up against the wall of the cathedral. With no light except the lamps of a military automobile the six women in the crowd, and about 25 men, were separated from the mass, and the remainder, 35 in number, were shot with scant deliberation and no trial whatever. Early the next morning three wounded victims were shot in cold blood when it was found that they were still alive.

The women and other reprieved prisoners were confined in the city jail until the following Thursday. The women were stripped and beaten by the

prison guards so severely that several of them were bed-ridden for weeks thereafter, and the men were subjected to similar maltreatment.

It has been asserted officially by the Polish authorities that there was reason to suspect this assemblage of bolshevist allegiance. This mission is convinced that no arguments of bolshevist nature were mentioned in the meeting in question. While it is recognized that certain information of bolshevist activities in Pinsk had been received by two Jewish soldiers, the undersigned is convinced that Maj. Luczynski, the town commander, showed reprehensible and frivolous readiness to place credence upon such untested assertions, and on this insufficient basis took inexcusably drastic action against reputable citizens whose loyal character could have been immediately established by a consultation with any well-known non-Jewish inhabitant.

The statements made officially by Gen. Listowski, the Polish group commander, that the Jewish population on April 5 attacked the Polish troops, are regarded by this mission as devoid of foundation. The undersigned is further of the opinion that the consultation prior to executing the 35 Jews, alleged by Maj. Luczynski to have had the character of a court-martial, was by the very nature of the case a most casual affair with no judicial nature whatever, since less than an hour elapsed between the arrest and the execution. It is further found that no conscientious effort was made at the time either to investigate the charges against the prisoners or even sufficiently to identify them. Though there have been official investigations of this case none of the offenders answerable for this summary execution have been punished or even tried, nor has the Diet commission published its findings.

(4) Lida, April 17, 1919.

On April 17, 1919, the Polish military forces captured Lida from the Russian Bolsheviks. After the city fell into the hands of the Poles the soldiers proceeded to enter and rob the houses of the Jews. During this period of pillage 39 Jews were killed. A large number of Jews, including the local rabbi, were arbitrarily arrested on the same day by the Polish authorities and kept for 24 hours without food amid revolting conditions of filth at No. 60 Kamien-ska Street. Jews were also impressed for forced labor without respect for age or infirmity. It does not appear that anyone has been punished for these excesses, or that any steps have been taken to reimburse the victims of the robberies.

(5) Wilna, April 19-21, 1919.

On April 19 Polish detachments entered the city of Wilna. The city was definitely taken by the Poles after three days of street fighting, during which time they lost 33 men killed. During this same period some 65 Jews lost their lives. From the evidence submitted it appears that none of these people, among whom were four women and eight men over 50 years of age, had served with the Bolsheviks. Eight Jews were marched 3 kilometers

to the outskirts of Wilna and deliberately shot without a semblance of a trial or investigation. Others were shot by soldiers who were robbing Jewish houses. No list has been furnished the mission of any Polish civilians killed during the occupation. It is, however, stated on behalf of the Government that the civilian inhabitants of Wilna took part on both sides in this fighting, and that some civilians fired upon the soldiers. Over 2,000 Jewish houses and stores in the city were entered by Polish soldiers and civilians during these three days, and the inhabitants robbed and beaten. It is claimed by the Jewish community that the consequent losses amounted to over 10,000,000 rubles. Many of the poorest families were robbed of their shoes and blankets. Hundreds of Jews were arrested and deported from the city. Some of them were herded into box cars and kept without food or water for four days. Old men and children were carried away without trial or investigation. Two of these prisoners have since died from the treatment they received. Included in this list were some of the most prominent Jews of Wilna, such as the eminent Jewish writers, Jaffe and Niger. For days the families of these prisoners were without news from them and feared that they had been killed. The soldiers also broke into the synagogue and mutilated the sacred scrolls of the law. Up to August 3, 1919, when the mission was in Wilna, none of the soldiers or civilians responsible for these excesses had been punished.

(6) Kolbuszowa, May 7, 1919.

For a few days before May 7, 1919, the Jews of Kolbuszowa feared that excesses might take place, as there had been riots in the neighboring towns of Rzeszow and Glogow. These riots had been the result of political agitation in this district and of excitement caused by a case of alleged ritual murder, in which the Jewish defendant had been acquitted. On May 6 a company of soldiers was ordered to Kolbuszowa to prevent the threatened trouble. Early in the morning of May 7 a great number of peasants, among whom were many former soldiers of the Austrian Army, entered the town. The rioters disarmed the soldiers after two soldiers and three peasants had been killed. They then proceeded to rob the Jewish stores and to beat any Jews who fell into their hands. Eight Jews were killed during this excess. Order was restored when a new detachment of soldiers arrived late in the afternoon. One of the rioters has since been tried and executed by the Polish Government.

(7) Czestochowa, May 27, 1919.

On May 27, 1919, at Czestochowa, a shot fired by an unknown person slightly wounded a Polish soldier. A rumor spread that the shot had been fired by the Jews, and riots broke out in the city in which Polish soldiers and civilians took part. During these riots five Jews, including a doctor who was hurrying to aid one of the injured, were beaten to

death and a large number were wounded. French officers, who were stationed at Czestochowa, took an active part in preventing further murders.

(8) Minsk, August 8, 1919.

On August 8, 1919, the Polish troops took the city of Minsk from the Russian Bolsheviks. The Polish troops entered the city at about 10 o'clock in the morning, and by 12 o'clock they had absolute control. Notwithstanding the presence in Minsk of Gen. Jadwin and other members of this mission, and the orders of the Polish commanding general forbidding violence against civilians, 31 Jews were killed by the soldiers. Only one of this number can in any way be connected with the bolshevist movement. Eighteen of the deaths appear to have been deliberate murder. Two of these murders were incident to robberies, but the rest were committed, to all appearances, solely on the ground that the victims were Jews. During the afternoon and in the evening of August 8 the Polish soldiers, aided by civilians, plundered 377 shops, all of which belonged to Jews. It must be noted, however, that about 90 per cent of the stores in Minsk are owned by Jews. No effective attempt was made to prevent these robberies until the next morning, when adequate officers' patrols were sent out through the streets and order was established. The private houses of many of the Jews were also broken into by soldiers and the inhabitants were beaten and robbed. The Polish Government has stated that four Polish soldiers were killed while attempting to prevent robberies. It has also been stated to the mission that some of the rioters have been executed.

7. There have also been here and there individual cases of murder not enumerated in the preceding paragraphs, but their detailed description has not been considered necessary inasmuch as they present no characteristics not already observed in the principal excesses. In considering these excesses as a whole, it should be borne in mind that of the eight cities and towns at which striking disorders have occurred, only Kielce and Czestochowa are within the boundaries of Congress Poland.³ In Kielce and Kolbuszowa the excesses were committed by city civilians and by peasants, respectively. At Czestochowa both civilians and soldiers took part in the disorders. At Pinsk the excess was essentially the fault of one officer. In Lemberg, Lida, Wilna, and Minsk the excesses were committed by the soldiers who were capturing the cities and not by the civilian population. In the three last-named cities the anti-Semitic prejudice of the soldiers had been inflamed by the charge that the Jews were Bolsheviks, while at Lemberg it was associated with the idea that the Jews were making common cause with the Ukrainians. These excesses were, therefore, political as well as anti-Semitic in character. The responsibility for these excesses is borne for the most part by the undisciplined and ill-equipped Polish recruits, who, uncontrolled by their inexperienced and oftentimes timid officers, sought to profit at the expense of that portion of the population which they regarded

as alien and hostile to Polish nationality and aspirations. It is recognized that the enforcement of discipline in a new and untrained army is a matter of extreme difficulty. On the other hand, the prompt cessation of disorder in Lemberg after the adoption of appropriate measures of control shows that an unflinching determination to restore order and a firm application of repressive measures can prevent, or at least limit, such excesses. It is, therefore, believed that a more aggressive punitive policy, and a more general publicity for reports of judicial and military prosecutions, would have minimized subsequent excesses by discouraging the belief among the soldiery that robbery and violence could be committed with impunity.

8. Just as the Jews would resent being condemned as a race for the action of a few of their undesirable coreligionists, so it would be correspondingly unfair to condemn the Polish nation as a whole for the violence committed by uncontrolled troops or local mobs. These excesses were apparently not premeditated, for if they had been part of a preconceived plan, the number of victims would have run into the thousands instead of amounting to about 280. It is believed that these excesses were the result of a widespread anti-Semitic prejudice aggravated by the belief that the Jewish inhabitants were politically hostile to the Polish State. When the boundaries of Poland are once fixed, and the internal organization of the country is perfected, the Polish Government will be increasingly able to protect all classes of Polish citizenry. Since the Polish Republic has subscribed to the treaty which provides for the protection of racial, religious and linguistic minorities, it is confidently anticipated that the Government will whole-heartedly accept the responsibility, not only of guarding certain classes of its citizens from aggression, but also of educating the masses beyond the state of mind that makes such aggression possible.

9. Besides these excesses there have been reported to the mission numerous cases of other forms of persecutions. Thus, in almost every one of the cities and towns of Poland, Jews have been stopped by the soldiers and had their beards either torn out or cut off. As the orthodox Jews feel that the shaving of their beards is contrary to their religious belief, this form of persecution has a particular significance to them. Jews also have been beaten and forced from trains and railroad stations. As a result many of them are afraid to travel. The result of all these minor persecutions is to keep the Jewish population in a state of ferment, and to subject them to the fear that graver excesses may again occur.

10. Whereas it has been easy to determine the excesses which took place and to fix the approximate number of deaths, it was more difficult to establish the extent of anti-Jewish discrimination. This discrimination finds its most conspicuous manifestation in the form of an economic boycott. The

national Democratic Party has continuously agitated the economic strangling of the Jews. Through the press and political announcements, as well as by public speeches, the non-Jewish element of the Polish people is urged to abstain from dealing with the Jews. Landowners are warned not to sell their property to Jews, and in some cases where such sales have been made, the names of the offenders have been posted within black-bordered notices, stating that such vendors were "dead to Poland." Even at the present time, this campaign is being waged by most of the non-Jewish press, which constantly advocates that the economic boycott be used as a means of ridding Poland of its Jewish element. This agitation had created in the minds of some of the Jews the feeling that there is an invisible rope around their necks, and they claim that this is the worst persecution that they can be forced to endure. Non-Jewish laborers have in many cases refused to work side by side with Jews. The percentage of Jews in public office, especially those holding minor positions, such as railway employees, firemen, policemen, and the like, has been materially reduced since the present Government has taken control. Documents have been furnished the mission showing that Government-owned railways have discharged Jewish employes and given them certificates that they have been released for no other reason than that they belong to the Jewish race.

11. Further, the establishment of co-operative stores is claimed by many Jewish traders to be a form of discrimination. It would seem, however, that this movement is a legitimate effort to restrict the activities and therefore the profits of the middleman. Unfortunately, when these stores were introduced into Poland, they were advertised as a means of eliminating the Jewish trader. The Jews have, therefore, been caused to feel that the establishment of co-operatives is an attack upon themselves. While the establishment and the maintenance of co-operatives may have been influenced by anti-Semitic sentiment, this is a form of economic activity which any community is perfectly entitled to pursue. On the other hand, the Jews complain that even the Jewish co-operatives and individual Jews are discriminated against by the Government in the distribution of Government-controlled supplies.

12. The Government has denied that discrimination against Jews has been practiced as a Government policy, though it has not denied that there may be individual cases where anti-Semitism has played a part. Assurances have been made to the mission by official authorities that in so far as it lies within the power of the Government this discrimination will be corrected.

13. In considering the causes for the anti-Semitic feeling which has brought about the manifestations described above, it must be re-

membered that ever since the partition of 1795 the Poles have striven to be reunited as a nation and to regain their freedom. This continual effort to keep alive their national aspirations has caused them to look with hatred upon anything which might interfere with their aims. This has led to a conflict with the nationalist declarations of some of the Jewish organizations which desire to establish cultural autonomy financially supported by the state.⁴ In addition, the position taken by the Jews in favor of article 93 of the treaty of Versailles, guaranteeing protection to racial, linguistic and religious minorities in Poland has created a further resentment against them.⁵ Moreover, Polish national feeling is irritated by what is regarded as the "alien" character of the great mass of the Jewish population. This is constantly brought home to the Poles by the fact that the majority of the Jews affect a distinctive dress, observe the Sabbath on Saturday, conduct business on Sunday, have separate dietary laws, wear long beards, and speak a language of their own. The basis of this language is a German dialect, and the fact that Germany was, and still is, looked upon by the Poles as an enemy country renders this vernacular especially unpopular. The concentration of the Jews in separate districts or quarters in Polish cities also emphasizes the line of demarcation separating them from other citizens.

14. The strained relations between the Jews and non-Jews have been further increased not only by the Great War, during which Poland was the battleground for the Russian, German, and Austrian Armies but also by the present conflicts with the Bolsheviks and the Ukrainians. The economic condition of Poland is at its lowest ebb. Manufacturing and commerce have virtually ceased. The shortage, the high price, and the imperfect distribution of food, are a dangerous menace to the health and welfare of the urban population. As a result, hundreds of thousands are suffering from hunger and are but half clad, while thousands are dying of disease and starvation. The cessation of commerce is particularly felt by the Jewish population, who are almost entirely dependent upon it. Owing to the conditions described, prices have doubled and tripled, and the population has become irritated against the Jewish traders, whom it blames for the abnormal increase thus occasioned.

15. The great majority of Jews in Poland belong to separate Jewish political parties. The largest of these are the Orthodox, the Zionist, and the National. Since the Jews form separate political groups it is probable that some of the Polish discrimination against them is political rather than anti-Semitic in character. The dominant Polish parties give to their supporters Government positions and Government patronage. It is to be hoped, however, that the Polish majority will not follow

this system in the case of positions which are not essentially political. There should be no discrimination in the choice of professors and teachers, nor in the selection of railroad employees, policemen, and firemen, or the incumbents of any other positions which are placed under the civil service in England and the United States. Like other democracies, Poland must realize that these positions must not be drawn into politics. Efficiency can only be attained if the best men are employed, irrespective of party or religion.

16. The relations between the Jews and non-Jews will undoubtedly improve in a strong democratic Poland. To hasten this there should be reconciliation and co-operation between the 86 per cent Christians and the 14 per cent Jews. The 86 per cent must realize that they can not present a solid front against their neighbors if one-seventh of the population is discontented, fear-stricken, and inactive. The minority must be encouraged to participate with their whole strength and influence in making Poland the great unified country that is required in central Europe to combat the tremendous dangers that confront it. Poland must promptly develop its full strength, and by its conduct first merit and then receive the unstinted moral, financial, and economic support of all the world, which will insure the future success of the Republic.

17. It was impossible for the mission, during the two months it was in Poland, to do more than acquaint itself with the general condition of the people. To formulate a solution of the Jewish problem will necessitate a careful and broad study, not only of the economic condition of the Jews, but also of the exact requirements of Poland. These requirements will not be definitely known prior to the fixation of Polish boundaries, and the final regulation of Polish relations with Russia, with which the largest share of trade was previously conducted. It is recommended that the league of nations, or the larger nations interested in this problem, send to Poland a commission consisting of recognized in-

dustrial, educational, agricultural, economic, and vocational experts, which should remain there as long as necessary to examine the problem at its source.

18. This commission should devise a plan by which the Jews in Poland can secure the same economic and social opportunities as are enjoyed by their coreligionists in other free countries. A new Polish constitution is now in the making. The generous scope of this national instrument has already been indicated by the special treaty with the allied and associated powers, in which Poland has affirmed its fidelity to the principles of liberty and justice and the rights of minorities, and we may be certain that Poland will be faithful to its pledge, which is so conspicuously in harmony with the nation's best traditions. A new life will thus be opened to the Jews and it will be the task of the proposed commission to fit them to profit thereby and to win the same appreciation gained by their coreligionists elsewhere as a valued asset to the commonwealths in which they reside. The friends of the Jews in America, England, and elsewhere who have already evinced such great interest in their welfare, will enthusiastically grasp the opportunity to co-operate in working out any good solution that such a commission may propound. The fact that it may take one or two generations to reach the goal must not be discouraging.

19. All citizens of Poland should realize that they must live together. They can not be divorced from each other by force or by any court of law. When this idea is once thoroughly comprehended, every effort will necessarily be directed toward a better understanding and the amelioration of existing conditions, rather than toward augmenting antipathy and discontent. The Polish nation must see that its worst enemies are those who encourage this internal strife. A house divided against itself can not stand. There must be but one class of citizens in Poland, all members of which enjoy equal rights and render equal duties.

Respectfully submitted.

HENRY MORGENTHAU.

Footnotes

¹ See footnote No. 4.

² When the Austrians surrendered Lemberg to the Ukrainians, the liberation of the city became a Polish national postulate to such a degree that women and children took part in the fighting in the streets. The Jews of Lemberg proclaimed themselves neutral and organized their own security—guards armed with carbines. The conviction that the Jews were fighting on the side of the Ukrainians was based on a series of incidents and misunderstandings. The Ukrainians wore blue and yellow badges on their sleeves, which were often mistaken for the blue and white badges of the Jews; the "Ukrainskie Słowo" published that "the Jews are with us"; the Ukrainian communique of the 18th November, 1918, reported that the Polish attack "met with the fierce opposition of the Jewish militia." The falsity of these reports became known too late. About 2,000 criminals let out of prison by the Austrians and the Ukrainians tried to get arms and uniforms in order to plunder. There were, therefore, robbers in Austrian, Ukrainian and Polish uniforms. In street skirmishes it was not always easy to discern which were soldiers and which were bandits, and when the Jewish guards shot at bandits clothed in Polish uniforms, the opinion was confirmed that the Jews shot at Poles.

³ General Jadwin reports: "Five deaths are the only fatalities from mob violence in Congress Poland discovered or reported to us since the establishment of a stable government in the Republic." Sir Rumbold says: "The excesses against the Jews can be divided from a geographical point of view into two categories: those which were perpetrated in Poland proper, in the course of which eighteen Jews lost their lives, and those which took place in the war zones which, in November, 1918, included Lemberg, and where the majority of the murders occurred. Sir Stuart Samuel estimates the total number of lives lost at not less than 348 so that 330 Jews were killed in the war zone." Congress Poland that part of the partitioned country that was under Russian domination, has a population of approximately 12,000,000. (Congress Poland was created by the Congress of Vienna in 1815, and under the title of the Kingdom of Poland was to have a separate parliament in Warsaw and only connected with Russia through having the same king. Subsequently the whole of Congress Poland was incorporated within Russia and called the Province of the Vistula in order that the name of Poland should disappear from the map of Europe).

⁴ Immediately after the proclamation of Poland's independence the Jews came forward with national demands which they had never made while Poland was a part of the annexing states: Russia, Germany and Austria. They addressed themselves to the Paris Conference with these demands, which were partially taken into account in the treaty on the national minorities. The Jews demanded their own national State in Palestine, and in Poland complete equality

with other citizens of the State and, *in addition*, national autonomy with their own Jewish National Assembly for the direction of Jewish affairs in Poland, presenting candidates for a Minister of Jewish affairs, and administrating independently Jewish schools and institutions. These demands found an echo in the speeches of Jewish deputies in the Polish Parliament on the 24th, 27th and 28th February in the declarations of the deputies Perlmutter, Prylucky and Grunbaum. The Poles agreed without reserve to the demand for equal rights as in harmony with Poland's traditions, but rejected the demand for national autonomy regarding it as the desire to create a State within a State, and a demand in opposition to equal rights, as the Jews would then possess more rights than the rest of the citizens.

⁵ Poland has always shown complete religious tolerance, and equal rights for all citizens has always been the permanent postulate of all parties. Under Russian rule in Poland the Jews obtained equal rights, thanks to the Poles. Alexander Wielopolski, when he obtained in 1862 from Alexander II. full administrative authority for Poland, profited by it to proclaim and establish the equal rights of Jews. The Polish provincial Diet in Poznania asked for equal rights for Jews in 1847, and the Polish Diet in Lemberg voted it in 1868, immediately after obtaining the autonomy of Galicia. The Poles were therefore painfully impressed that the moment of Poland's uprising the Jews, ignoring Polish factors, addressed themselves to Paris for guarantees of their rights in reborn Poland. In "A Brief Outline of Polish History," issued in 1919 by the Polish Encyclopedic Publications Committee, this explanation is given: "The ukase of March 26, 1861, granted to the Kingdom a separate Council of State, the autonomy of the governments, districts and towns, the direction of the public worship and of education, and finally a reform of the University system. Marquis Alexander Wielopolski, who was known for his anti-German and anti-Austrian ideas, a sincere partisan of a loyal entente with Russia, was made director of the Public worship. But, on the other hand, the government closed the Agricultural Society which had grouped round it the moderate patriots, surnamed the "Whites," who were opposed to all armed rising. The Marquis, unable to get on with the imperial lieutenants, sent in his resignation. Called to Petersburg, he used all his political ability in trying to get back for Poland its complete autonomy. He came back to Warsaw during the summer of 1862, with the new Imperial Lieutenant, the Grand Duke Constantine, and charged with full powers. Created vice-president of the Administration Council, which meant head of a civil government, he set to work immediately to accomplish his projects: equal rights for the Jews and the reform of the educational system." In other words Poland had only this single opportunity to give the Poles liberties and at once took advantage of it. After the uprising of 1863, Russia renounced the Polish decree and never again allowed Poland freedom of action in regard to the treatment of Jews.



II.

The Jadwin and Johnson Report

American Commission to Negotiate Peace
Mission to Poland,

Paris, October 31, 1919.

American commission to negotiate peace.

Gentlemen: 1. The mission to Poland (consisting of Mr. Henry Morgenthau, Brig. Gen. Edgar Jadwin, and Mr. Homer H. Johnson) was named for the purpose of carrying out and investigation of questions the relations between the Jewish and the non-Jewish elements in the Republic. Accompanied by its working personnel, the mission remained in Poland from July 13, 1919, to September 13, 1919, and visited the scenes of the most widely reported excesses, studied economic conditions in the local centers of production and distribution, consulted Polish statesmen and Jewish men of affairs, observed living conditions among the common people, associated with officers of the army, and, considering always the historical environment influencing the nature, aims, and disposition of the Polish Nation, endeavored to arrive at a just understanding of the present relations between the component elements of the Republic. The mission owes its thanks to Gen. Pilsudski, the chief of state, Mr. Paderewski, president of the council of ministers, and to the Polish authorities in general for the facilities contributed toward the execution of its task, and is also indebted to Mr. Hugh Gibson, American minister to Poland, for his aid. In all localities visited, the Jewish communities extended to the mission their full confidence and co-operation.

It should be borne in mind that most of the time of the mission in Poland was taken up in the examination of complaints made by or in behalf of Jewish citizens of Poland, and that the material as to excesses is largely based on ex parte statements. While it was the original intention of the mission to give the Polish Government an opportunity for detailed rebuttal, the relatively small extent of the excesses themselves, as compared with the largest elements contributing to anti-Semitism, and the importance of a remedy, seemed to make such rebuttal unnecessary. Within the boundaries of Congress Poland only 18 Jews lost their lives, while in the whole territory now controlled or occupied by the Polish Republic the grand total of deaths from excesses in which anti-Semitism was a factor has not exceeded 300.

We were able to arrive at our conclusions from the data furnished by Jewish sources, from answers to specific questions addressed to various Polish ministries, from many conferences with other Po-

lish citizens, and from utterances in the Polish press, and believe that those sources sufficiently disclosed the nature and causes of anti-Jewish disturbances without further pro-Polish evidence.

After the return of the mission to Paris its members were unable to consult together on account of the absence of Gen. Jadwin on other duty in southern Russia. Mr. Morgenthau before leaving Paris submitted a report representing his views of the situation, and the other members, in his absence, have prepared these considerations, which, while differing but slightly from Mr. Morgenthau's, have been put in the form of a complete report as leading up to conclusions which differ from those of Mr. Morgenthau.

2. Polish opinion characterizes the traditional attitude of Poland toward the Jews as one of tolerance. When the Jews in western Europe fell a prey to persecutions induced by the fresh wave of fanaticism incident to the Crusades, they migrated in large numbers to Poland as a place of refuge, where the Jewish communities received numerous special privileges, and possessed almost complete local government. This internal independence lasted until early in the nineteenth century, when it was finally so reduced as to apply to religious and educational matters only. The memory of former independence within the limits of the State plays a considerable rôle in the present aspirations of certain Jewish parties for autonomy with the right to receive and expend a pro rata part of State revenue. The traditional concentration of the Jews in their communities, due to the necessity of maintaining close connection with the synagogue, has given further impetus to the spirit of separatism and cleavage from the rest of the population, which aggravates the Jewish question at the moment. It is frequently alleged that even in the Middle Ages Jewish separatism, commercial competition and acquisitiveness aroused a certain irritation among the Polish masses, which has persisted as an inherited prejudice to the present day.

With the accession of Nicholas I (1825), persecution of the Jews began with the official sanction of the Russian Empire, and continued until Nicholas was succeeded by Alexander II. In harmony with the latter's liberal policy, decrees were published in 1862 completely emancipating the Jews, but after the reaction from the insurrection of 1863, in which, at least in Warsaw, many Jews fought shoulder to shoulder with the Poles, these laws became a dead letter. Though frequently invoked as

a proof of Polish tolerance, they have provided since that time no essential guarantees of Jewish rights.¹ During the second half of the nineteenth century conditions in Poland were further complicated by the rigid enforcement of the pale of settlement. The original prohibition to settle outside the pale had been so modified under Alexander II as to allow wealthy Jewish merchants, Jewish holders of university degrees, and Jewish artisans, to reside in the interior provinces of Russia. This concession was counterbalanced by the laws of May, 1882, forbidding Jews to reside in the country districts and small towns of the pale, and crowding them into the cities where their coreligionists were already congested. At the same time, the expulsion of Jewish artisans from Moscow aggravated the abnormal concentration of this section. The result of these conditions was a sharpening of competition between Jew and non-Jew in the districts where both elements lived side by side. The lack of opportunity for the Jew to engage in production drove him into small trading, a business already overflowing and incapable of providing a livelihood for even a small number of newcomers. Even before the war, the mass of Polish Jewry had to struggle for their daily bread, and in addition to commercial rivalry, popular resentment against them was further accentuated by their religious separatism and their differences in dress, dietary habits, and Sabbath observances.

3. To the basic factors of the present situation must be added the cross-currents of factional aspirations and international intrigue caused by the Great War. During the German occupation of Poland, the Germanic character of the Yiddish vernacular and the readiness of certain Jewish elements to enter into relations with the winning side induced the enemy to employ Jews as agents for various purposes and to grant the Jewish population not only exceptional protection, but also the promise of autonomy. It is alleged that the Jews were active in speculation in foodstuffs, which was encouraged by the armies of occupation with a view to facilitating export to Germany and Austria. Notwithstanding the patriotic attitude assumed by many prominent Jews, the number of Hebrews employed by the German forces and occasional cases of denunciation by Jews added fuel to the flame of prejudice. A sensitive Polish nationalism has been resentful of any self-assertion from a minority whose very language recalls the heavy hand of the oppressor.

It is not merely for his alleged German sympathies that the Jew is regarded with antipathy, but also for his supposed relations with the Bolsheviks. The Polish masses and soldiery who have come in contact with bolshevism class the Jews as its supporters, and at Pinsk, Lida, and Wilna, where serious excesses occurred concurrently with military operations, their argument was in each case advanced by local military authorities in partial explanation of the occurrences. It is also often asserted that the chiefs of the Bolshevik movement in Russia are Jews of Poland or Lithuania and there is no doubt that they played a prominent part in

the Bolshevik government of such cities as Wilna, Lida, and Minsk before the capture of these cities by the Polish Army. The program of the Jewish Socialist belonging to the Bund Party is also adduced as a proof of Jewish sympathy with the Bolsheviks, though since the Russian revolution the Bund has allied itself with the moderate element (Mensheviks) among the Russian Socialists. It may be questioned whether undue arbitrary generalization has not been resorted to by elements hostile to the Jew in defining the Jewish political standpoint. It is no more fair to brand all Jews as Bolsheviks because some of them support the Soviets than to class all Poles as Jew-baiters because some of their military forces or of their lawless civil elements have occasionally been guilty of depredations and violence.

The alien sympathies attributed to the Jew vary with the racial problems in different sections of the country. Under the Austrian régime the situation of the Jews in Galicia had been favorable. But when the Hapsburg monarchy crumbled, and the struggle broke out between Pole and Ukrainian for the possession of Lemberg and eastern Galicia, the neutrality professed by a portion of the Jewish population resulted in increased hostility toward the Jew. The waiting game dictated at this juncture by the Jewish sense of expediency was interpreted by the Poles as Ukrainian partisanship. The disorders of November 21 to 23 in Lemberg became, like the excesses in Lithuania, a weapon of foreign anti-Polish propaganda. The press bureau of the Central Powers, in whose interest it lay to discredit the Polish Republic before the world, permitted the publication of articles like that in the "Neue Freie Presse" of November 30, 1918, in which an eyewitness estimated the number of victims between 2,500 and 3,000, although the extreme number furnished by the local Jewish committee was 76.

As the result of the war, the natural depression of industry and commercial life has also become a peculiar incident of anti-Semitism. The use of the country as a battlefield by foreign armies, who requisitioned and plundered all available material, who made it difficult for the Jewish merchant, first, to secure goods with which to deal, and second, to charge other than high prices for them. When the merchant is able to secure a stock of goods the very fact that he has them in his possession, and that he is compelled to charge abnormal prices, tends to the popular conviction that he is a profiteer. The prevailing monetary insecurity also renders barter necessary and merchandising difficult, while the Jewish merchant, thus hampered in his business, is met by the increasing prejudice growing out of the abnormal conditions of war under which his trading must be carried on.

Some Poles have stated that the Jews permit a different standard of business deportment in deal-

ings with non-Jews, and that they are thus, outside of passing conditions, responsible for existing prejudice. This is vigorously denied by the Jews. Furthermore, the use of economic questions with racial attachments for political arguments contributes to perpetuating an issue which, as a result of passing circumstances, should disappear with renewed economic activity.

4. The modern Polish State consists, or may consist when its boundaries are fixed, of five distinct sections: Congress Poland, Poznania, Galicia (eastern and western), and portions of Lithuania and White Russia, Minsk, Grodno, Volhynia, and part of Vitebsk. The proportion of Jews varies from less than 1 per cent in the immediate vicinity of the Prussian boundary to 75 per cent in the White Russian city of Pinsk. Out of 441 census divisions, there are about 13 in which the Jews exceed 20 per cent of the population. The old Russian provinces of Minsk and Volhynia have the largest percentage of Jewish inhabitants. In general, the percentage of Jews increases toward the eastward, and with the exception of Warsaw, Lodz, and some smaller cities in Congress Poland, is largest in the region running northeast from Warsaw to Wilna, and in the district extending south from Minsk across the Prypec toward the Dniester River. This concentration is due to the Russian laws confining the Jews within the Provinces making up the river systems of the Dnieper and the Niemen, and to the gradual eviction of the Jews from interior Russian cities into this so-called pale of settlement. Except in the cities, the proportion of Jews in Congress Poland does not exceed 10 per cent of the population, and with the cities included about 15 per cent is Jewish.

The percentage of Poles in Congress Poland, except in the cities where Jews have settled, rises about 75 per cent. West of Posen, toward the Prussian boundary, the proportion of Poles shades off to 25 per cent and less. A fairly distinct belt of Polish-speaking people extends north to Danzig and the edge of Pomerania. Owing to the extreme variations in the Russian census of 1897 and 1909 for Lithuania and the Ukraine, it is difficult to give accurate figures as to the Polish population east of the Bug River. In Lithuania, with the exception of Wilna and environs, the proportion of Poles nowhere passes 25 per cent. In Wilna itself the Poles are variously estimated at 20 to 43 per cent, with some present claims as high as 55 per cent. In White Russia, on the contrary, the Polish population is extremely small, especially in the Province of Minsk, where it does not exceed 10 per cent, although the city of Minsk has about 25 per cent. In western Galicia, centering about Cracow, the Poles reach 75 per cent, while in eastern Galicia they share the territory about equally with the Ukrainians, though retaining considerable superiority in the city of Lemberg itself. There has been a distinct eastward drift to Polish emigration, so that Polish infiltrations appear as far east as Kiev and the Province of Mohilev. Owing to peculiar agrarian condi-

tions, the Poles before the war held nearly half of all real estate in Lithuania and Ukraine.

It will thus be seen that the percentage of population in the various sections of what is now Poland, or what may be Poland, adds to the general complexity of the influences entering into the problem of anti-Semitism. Naturally the relations in the eastern districts now held by Poland are affected, not only by the percentage of Jews, but by the small proportion of Polish inhabitants in these sections. The attitude of the various elements of the population and the play of sentiment as to the political future of the country further contribute to this puzzling complexity. In spite of considerable agitation, no serious difficulty exists in Posen, and even in Congress Poland there is little disturbance of fundamental relations. But in view of the uncertainty as to whether the regions in the East are to be Polish, Russian, or independent, it is readily seen that the relation of the Jew to the eventual political disposition of these territories is still an irritating element. These same problems are to some extent inherent in every other country where the Jewish character and habits develop a racial solidarity, necessarily accompanied by an economic and social intermingling with the other elements of the population.

5. The Jewish situation is rendered more difficult by the efforts of certain malicious German influences to further their eastern projects by discrediting Poland financially and otherwise. It is not to the interest of the German State to allow Poland to become a powerful and prosperous competitor, since Poland is more favorably situated to act as a center of exchange between Russia and the west. There are also conservative elements among Russian statesmen who are equally anxious to prevent foreign financial aid to Poland and are using criticism of the Polish State as a weapon to forestall the assistance of the allied and associated powers. If Poland is to become a firmly established State, the needs of the Republic must be considered from the angle of Polish national aspirations and rights, and not simply on the basis of the purposes of its temporarily paralyzed neighbors to the east and west.

In common with all free Governments of the world, Poland is faced with the danger of the political and international propaganda to which the war has given rise. The coloring, the suppression, and the invention of news, the subornation of newspapers by many different methods, and the poisoning by secret influences of the instruments affecting public opinion, in short, all the methods of malevolent propaganda are a menace from which Poland is a notable sufferer. This applies to propaganda both at home and from abroad. While the Polish press as a whole may not be charged with irresponsibility, it has in general gone to the extreme of political pro-

priety, and many of its organs have passed far beyond that limit, to the great detriment of their country.

6. Poland is beset by the confusion of ideas and the degeneration of popular morale, caused by decades of political tyranny and made acute by five years of war. For over 100 years all sections of Poland have been ruled by despotisms of varying severity, and the people at large have been accustomed to identify the Government not with the manifestation of majority opinion, but with personal rule by ukase and decree. The Jews suffer from the fact that the Polish Government substituting popular government for despotic rule, lacks the will or the power to protect them, and have been ready to invoke external aid in order to exact from the Polish authorities protection of themselves not as a minority, but because of their racial allegiance. Some representatives of the Jewish national movement who have been conspicuously active refuse to subordinate the Jewish question to the general needs of the Polish State. The fault in this regard does not lie entirely on the Jewish side, since the question once raised was eagerly picked up by the National Democratic Party. The voluntary separation of the Jew from purely Polish interests has led, in localities where other problems of nationality exist, to arbitrary identification of the Jews with anti-Polish elements. So long as nationality is an issue, the Jew who does not declare himself Polish is regarded as the ally of any visible alien factor. On the other hand, in view of the uncertainty of the final disposition of White Russia, Lithuania, and Galicia, the difficulties besetting the Jews in these regions have been undeniably very great. Yet, since the Jews are enjoying the protection of the growing Polish State, the Poles claim that they owe active personal support to the Government that insures them liberty and commercial opportunity. The numerical inferiority of the Jews in what is undeniably Poland has at the same time proved no check to their political assertiveness. The opportunity to profit by an occasional balance of power claimed to excuse the maintenance of a Jewish national party does not appear to justify perpetuating so great an irritation and such a separation of the Jews from the customary divisions of modern politics.

We may here refer with propriety to the report of the inter-allied commission on Poland, of which Prof. R. H. Lord and Gen. Kernan were the American members, and to whose statements on the Polish problem it is desired to invite special attention. The account of the Jewish parties supplied by the Italian member of that commission has been found very helpful and substantially accurate. He invited the most important parties to submit any extensions or corrections which they desired to make, but no further information was supplied. As hereafter appears, most of the questions raised and of the suggestions made in the report on Poland have

been met, in our judgment, by the free acceptance of the minorities treaty by the Polish Government and people.

We have, however, found some evidence of a disposition both in Poland and abroad to keep alive the controversy on the possible theory that focusing attention upon Poland will promote better treatment of the Jew. We feel that this doctrine of controversialism is founded on extremely dubious grounds, and that there should be no Jewish problem, aside from the general responsibility to the fundamental provisions which the Poles have agreed shall become part of their policy toward minorities. The ideal should be to have one and only one class of citizens politically with complete freedom in religious matters.

7. The question of popular education presents some possible difficulty. From American experience it is concluded that the public school, with universal instruction in the national vernacular, is one of the strongest forces toward the creation of a homogeneous body of citizens, speaking one language and expressing themselves on the basis of a common complex of social and political notions however much they differ on religious and cultural questions. In order that the Jew may fully enjoy his privileges and faithfully fulfill his obligations as a citizen, he must understand them in the same sense as his Polish neighbor. It is by means of public schools that Poland will lose its approximate 85 per cent of illiterates, and teach its people, not only common school subjects, but also the great principles of liberty and the rights of man, and by raising the level of popular knowledge arrive at a point where it can draw its State officials from the people at large, who will, by association in their school years, have acquired a common understanding impervious to propaganda or prejudice. While, therefore, the adoption of the treaty was essential to the integrity of Poland, it will in carrying out the educational paragraphs be well for Poles and Jews to keep in mind American experience in public school development, and carefully to weigh the question, whether the permanency of the separate school plan will be advisable.

8. As to specific cases of violence leading to loss of life we invite attention to article 6 of Mr. Morgenthau's report, where the main facts are stated. Some additional considerations must be further recorded and especially that the excesses mostly took place either when the Republic was in process of organization or under the stress of military operations. For example, the outbreak in Kielce occurred on the day of the armistice, November 11, 1918. A Jewish meeting called in support of Jewish nationalism, which was easily rumored to be in opposition to Polish national independence, was broken up with fatal results to four people and injury to many others just after the city had been evacuated by the Austrian troops and before the Polish authorities existed to organize a service of security. At Lemberg, while the outbreaks occurred a little later, November 21-23, 1918, it was at the

end of hostilities between the Polish and Ukrainian elements of the population.

The Pinsk outrage, April 5, 1919, was 30 days after the capture of the town from the Bolsheviks by the Poles, but was a purely military affair. The town commander with judgment unbalanced by fear of a bolshevik uprising of which he had been forewarned by two Jewish soldier informers sought to terrorize the Jewish population (about 75 per cent of the whole) by the execution of 35 Jewish citizens without investigation or trial, by imprisoning and beating others and by wholesale threats against all Jews. No share in this action can be attributed to any military official higher up, to any of the Polish civil officials, or to the few Poles resident in that district of White Russia.

The Czestochowa riots on May 27, 1919, while based on the supposed shooting of a Polish soldier by a Jew, was not connected with a military operation and occurred after both military and civil government had been established. Only after five deaths was the outbreak arrested. These five deaths are the only fatalities from mob violence in Congress Poland discovered or reported to us since the establishment of a stable government in the Republic."

The military operations of the Polish Army in the taking of Lida (April 17, 1919), of Wilna (April 21, 1919), and of Minsk (August 8, 1919) in consideration of the facts of its organization, that it was still poorly organized, unequipped, underofficered and undisciplined would not have been so noticeably irregular even though civilian deaths were considerable and robberies large, except for the fact that those killed and robbed were practically all Jews. Nor is it explained by the fact that most of the shops in those cities were Jewish. The fact that there were some non-Jewish establishments and that none of them were disturbed shows an intelligent and intentional discrimination on the part of the lawless element in the army disclosing a racial antipathy made more patent by the desire to rob and pillage, which was apparently felt not to be wrong or at least not to be severely punished by superiors. In Wilna there was active street fighting for three days, and while the army lost 33 the civilian loss was 65. But the civilians were all Jews, and many others were thereafter deported and subject to hardships which it is hard to justify by military practice. In support of the conviction that there had been active sympathy with the Bolsheviks by Jews and sniping by them during the street fighting we had many statements of eye witnesses presented to us. There can be no doubt that in a highly charged atmosphere there was quite enough fault on both sides to explain the adherence to the every-day practices of Russian civil warfare as it is reported to us in this almost civil strife on Russian territory. No one would attempt to justify it. Gen. Jadwin was present at the taking of Minsk and a personal witness

to the strenuous efforts of the military authorities toward preventing acts of violence. The results showed definite progress among the military in the discipline of the army in the conception of their duty toward the civilian population and in their ability to carry it out. Proportionately to the population only about 20 per cent as many were killed as at Wilna. A large percentage of those were in the suburbs and out of reach of the military patrols in the city. Part of those in the town were the result, according to bystanders' statements, of shots directed at the entering troops coming from a certain meeting house in which Jews had congregated, and five of them were killed. Reported bolshevik activity and sniping with the desire to rob explain most of the cases except the reprehensible unbalanced conduct of one petty officer who killed nine. Many of the offenders were arrested and six of them were sentenced to be shot.

Following the Minsk experience, improvement was made in the technique of handling patrols so that further reports from Rowno and Bobruisk, subsequently captured by the Poles, indicate more successful precautions against maltreatment of the Jewish population.

In practically all of these cases inquiries have been regularly undertaken by the military authorities, by the civil Government of Poland, and in several by direct Diet committees. The local civil authorities have also followed the usual processes of criminal inquiry, and the cases are in various stages of development. In several the inquiry has been followed by the appropriation of damages to those who have suffered loss.

Payments had begun to be made in Wilna, Pinsk, and Lemberg before our departure from Poland. If complaints as to slowness and uncertainty of military and Government punishment and relief were heard, as they were, it seemed nevertheless to indicate that orderly process of government was in operation. With a state of war in the land and the many vexing problems incident to Poland's situation, we could not find substantial ground of criticism of the methods of prevention and relief for an altogether unhappy situation. Patience and forbearance must be administered to all sides of the question, with honest effort to recover their war-torn country as soon as possible. It will be a difficult matter to reassure the citizens of Poland that the outside world will be as prompt and efficient in doing its duty—to make the world safe for Poland and all other struggling democracies.

9. We are of the opinion, in view of the previous training of the Polish soldiery in the German, Austrian, and Russian Armies, the eastern low valuation of human life, the want of food and clothing which had accompanied the breaking up of the Central Powers, and the universal tenseness of popular

nerves worn by the vicissitudes of war, that the antagonism felt by the Polish military toward the Jews and resulting in depredation and violence against them is not a matter of surprise, reprehensible and regrettable as it is. The habits of military warfare still obtaining in the civil war in Russia, and these military excesses in Poland, aggravated as they were by civilian mobs, thoroughly justified the fear and anxiety expressed by many Jews lest the Poles had adopted Czarist and bolshevik precedents of solving any question, including that of Jewish prejudice, by a process of terror and extermination. It is to the credit of the Polish State that it has apparently passed through this crisis of organization, though still under the baneful influence of active warfare, without realizing this sinister expectation. We were assured by many representative Jewish delegations that while they were disturbed by the anti-Jewish feeling still inconveniently and unjustly exhibited, they did not fear for their lives or liberty; that they recognize their full duty as Polish citizens with all the responsibilities and privileges that pertain thereto; that all citizens are subject to the rule of the majority in which any minority must acquiesce, and that the only remedy beyond this is the appeal to the conscience of the majority and its sense of justice and fair play. This uniting in the making, ratification, and execution of this treaty, with its appeal to the League of Nations, is a credit to Jew and non-Jew alike, and barring the accident of an outside conflagration, is the best of auguries for Poland's future success.

10. While it is our opinion that a return to normal conditions in Poland will remove most of the danger of the Jewish question, it is recognized that this process of restoration is not solely dependent on the good will and exertions of the Poles themselves. The attention of Poland must be diverted from waging war, and the only means toward this end is the re-establishment of internal peace in Russia. Until this result is obtained, Poland remains with boundaries undetermined, forced to hold and administer a large territory, the inhabitants of which as yet have no fixed nationality. As long as Poland wages war, the Republic is a prey to militaristic methods and open to the peril of direct action. Until its army is reduced to a peace footing the problem of overpopulation and underemployment can not be solved. While a third of the meager income of the State is expended for military purposes, adequate attention can not be devoted to internal reconstruction. Until Russia is at peace Poland lacks her full field for trade and exchange, and therefore can not regain her economic equilibrium, while an opportunity for emigration to an open and liberal Russia would provide an outlet for the surplus population of the Republic. With a stable government in Russia firmly allied in principle with the allied and associated powers, an end would be made to the German intrigue that is seeking to substitute Russia for Austria-Hungary as a field of exploitation and accordingly strives to discredit Poland as a dangerous competitor. In fact, protection afforded minorities

such as before us in this investigation may well bring the Russian condition where this problem is the protection of the majority against a minority based on a difference of social philosophy and wielding power by seizure of the instruments of war and by the use of most elementary forms of force and fear. Is not the duty of the nations as clear to determine the rule of the majority against despotism, whether one or many, thus preserving domestic tranquillity as well as freedom from foreign invasion? Is not the effect of domestic disorder in Russia upon Poland and upon the peace of the world quite as important a subject for regulation by the nations as in the limitation upon the majority's treatment of minorities? Is not the solidarity of nations shown quite as much by one as the other, and are they not both requisite for future peace? The foundation of an enduring government in Russia depends on the certainty that no minority, whether autocratic or bolshevistic, shall ever be able to exploit the inertia of the masses in overthrowing any system of democracy that may be established within its boundaries. It is to the interest of the world that this internal security shall be perpetuated, and the rise of a powerful democracy on the eastern frontier of Poland will insure the safety and freedom of action of the Republic.

In short, once the military threat against Poland is removed and the territorial uncertainty of the Republic is ended, the nation will be able to concentrate its energies on internal problems and, by the course of natural development, create a governmental system insuring equality, protection, and prosperity to all elements of its population. The mission thoroughly believes that Poland has the raw materials of citizenship quite equal to this accomplishment.

11. By way of summary, we find that beginning with the armistice, about November 11, 1918, and for six months and more during the establishment of orderly government in Poland, many regrettable incidents took place throughout both Congress Poland and the regions the future of which is still in doubt. The occurrences in Congress Poland were not so serious in number of deaths, but there have been violent collisions accompanied by riots, beatings, and other assaults which are apparently traceable in large part to anti-Jewish prejudice. In every case they have been repressed by either the military or the civil authorities, but only after grievous results. In the territory occupied or invaded by Polish troops, civilian mobs have followed the soldiery, and the two elements have engaged in robbery of shops and dwellings, and, in cases where resistance was offered, in assaulting and killing the owners or occupants. The circumstances of some of these incidents have been aggravated by intoxication due to the looting of liquor stores, with the usual adjuncts of criminal irresponsibility and mob rage. We believe that none of these excesses were instigated or approved by any responsible governmental authority, civil or military. We find, on the other hand, that the history and the attitude of the

Jews, complicated by abnormal economic and political conditions produced by the war, have fed the flame of anti-Semitism at a critical moment. It is believed, however, that the gradual amelioration of conditions during the last 11 months gives great promise for the future of the Polish Republic as a stable democracy.

12. In spite of the existing anti-Semitism arising from very diverse factors we are convinced that religious differences as such play therein a relatively slight rôle, and that the Polish nation is disposed to religious tolerance and self-control in religious disagreements. The ending of the war, the removal of external menace, and the revival of industry will reduce the present common irritation caused by abnormal conditions.

Jewish business men have also assured us that with the restoration of trade, industry, and banking, the Poles will cease to employ economic pressure as a political weapon.

13. In addition to the disposition toward tolerance evinced in the presence of violent party controversy and active propaganda from abroad, Poland has accepted the minorities clause of the treaty of Versailles, guaranteeing to all citizens security of life and property and equal protection of the laws. Despite dissatisfaction with some stipulations of this treaty, a determination has been expressed by prominent leaders of even the extremes in all political camps to execute it faithfully.

14. The duties of the outside world toward Poland are:

(a) To establish the territorial extent of the Polish State. Should any of the eastern country which contains the largest proportion of Jews, revert to Russia, the problem thus transferred can be dealt with by the League of Nations.

(b) To protect Poland from the menace of external interference by the application of article 10 of the covenant of the League of Nations.

(c) To further by means of judiciously administered external help the recovery of Poland from five years of war. This material aid, in the nature of food, clothing, and raw materials, should not be gratuitously furnished or so distributed as to overtax the national credit or to pauperize the population. In accordance with President Wilson's speech of January 8, 1918, Poland should be freed from the limitation of all economic barriers and raised to a position where it can profit by the quality of trade conditions to be established among nations. Since no country can be a good financial risk without domestic tranquillity and freedom from invasion, the fear of which may lead to over expenditure and competitive armament, this security should be provided for the good of Poland and the peace of the world. While we are convinced that Poland will abide by its obligations to preserve order at home, the pro-

tection against external interference is the duty of the League of Nations. With political security, industrial peace, and an open market with no foreign debt not offset by foreign receivables, Poland, safeguarded by the League of Nations and abundantly provided as she is with natural assets in property and man power, becomes an excellent commercial risk for foreign capital.

(d) To study the question of over population or under industrialization, not at all local to Poland but intimately connected with its future. It is not healthy for Poland to pursue a policy of summer emigration to other countries, nor is it desirable that it should continue a heavy emigration to America and elsewhere. It is a process from which the nation is still suffering, since it tends to take the strong and leave the less reliant. Furthermore, with the present development of the world, and the beginning of new thoughts in the development of nationalism, if emigration from Poland is to be necessary, the question as to whither and under what conditions it shall be directed becomes peculiarly subject to international solution.

If Poland by her own initiative, or through outside aid, can so speed up and direct her own industrial policy as to absorb the potential labor supply, the Republic may solve the question under new conditions of political and economic freedom.

(e) To further the rapid development of Polish education. The safety of the masses from exploitation through the sophistries of monarchism or of anarchism depends on the degree of enlightenment they possess. It is therefore to the advantage of the League of Nations to see instituted a campaign of universal education toward a general understanding of the great ideals of democracy and for the protection of peoples against the agitator or the reactionary who deals in slogans that appeal to any populace untrained to estimate them at their proper value.

(f) To guarantee to Poland the disinterested counsel of the allied democracies based on their previous experience. Together with the other free peoples of the world, Poland must henceforth grapple, not only with abuses of the outworn autocratic system, but with political corruption, graft, party degeneracy, and yellow journalism joined with paid propaganda. The opportunity of the League of Nations for the comparative study of democratic methods and policies, reinforced by common aims, by the full development of international feeling and the free exchange of free ideas, will react not only upon Poland, but to the general advantage of the entire world. The greatest need at this crisis is the domestic and international application of general principles of democratic government tested by use and beaten out on the anvil of experience. Its highest and broadest attribute is that force shall give way to thought—the rule of reason rather than the reign of terror. Respectfully submitted.

EDGAR JADWIN,
Brigadier General, United States Army.
HOMER H. JOHNSON.

¹ See footnote No. 5 after Morgenthau Report.

The Jewish situation is rendered more difficult by the efforts of certain malicious German influences to further their eastern projects by discrediting Poland financially and otherwise. It is not to the interest of the German State to allow Poland to become a powerful and prosperous competitor, since Poland is more favorably situated to act as a center of exchange between Russia and the west. There are also conservative elements among Russian statesmen, who are equally anxious to prevent foreign financial aid to Poland and are using criticism of the Polish States as a weapon to forestall the assistance of the allied and associated powers. If Poland is to become a firmly established State, the needs of the Republic must be considered from the angle of Polish national aspirations and rights, and not simply on the basis of the purposes of its temporarily paralyzed neighbors to the east and west.

In common with all free Governments of the world, Poland is faced with the danger of the political and international propaganda to which the war has given rise. The coloring, the suppression, and the invention of news, the subornation of newspapers by many different methods, and the poisoning by secret influences of the instruments affecting public opinion, in short, all the methods of malevolent propaganda are a menace from which Poland is a notable sufferer. This applies to propaganda both at home and from abroad.

—From the Report of General Jadwin
and H. H. Johnson.

The Reports of the BRITISH MISSION

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

by

Sir H. Rumbold, British Minister to Poland, in Submitting
the Report of the British Mission to His Government.

Sir H. Rumbold to Earl Curzon

Warsaw, June 2, 1920.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith Sir Stuart Samuel's report on his mission to Poland to investigate the massacres and general ill-treatment of Jews in this country. Captain Wright, who was also a member of Sir Stuart Samuel's mission, has submitted a separate report, which I have likewise the honour to enclose.

When the Germans evacuated Poland in 1918 a civil and military administration had to be set up by the Poles. It is obvious that this administration could not be anything but defective at first. The executive was weak and orders issued by the central authorities were frequently not carried out in the provinces. This absence of authority after four years' of German occupation and iron rule accounts, perhaps, to a certain degree for the occurrence of excesses against the Jews.

It is also necessary to remember that the discipline of the Polish army was very different from the discipline of armies before the war. The excesses against the Jews were described as pogroms in the press of Western Europe, but it can be here remarked that the word "pogrom" is used in a different sense in Poland from that which it is understood to convey in Western Europe. The word "pogrom" conveys to the inhabitant of Western Europe massacres or excesses against a portion of the population which are either organized or countenanced by the authorities. In Poland the word is applied to disturbances in which lives need not necessarily be lost.

The excesses against the Jews can be divided from a geographical point of view into two categories: those which were perpetrated in Poland proper, in the course of which eighteen Jews lost their lives, and those which took place in the war zones which, in November, 1918, included Lemberg, and where the majority of the murders occurred. Sir Stuart Samuel estimates the total number of lives lost at not less than 348, so that 330 Jews were killed in the war zone.

The character of the excesses differs considerably. In some cases, as at Lemberg, the Polish mob, worked up by the fighting which took place for the possession of the town, of set purpose attacked many Jews, killing fifty-two, wounding many more and doing much damage to Jewish property. Excesses against the Jews on a larger scale also occurred in the following places: at Kielce, Pinsk, Lida, Vilna, Kolbuszowa, in Galicia, Czenstochowa and Minsk.

In other cases there was a sporadic outbreak causing the death of one or two Jews. In many instances the excesses took the form of more or less serious assaults on the Jews, such as cutting off beards, throwing out of trains, etc. But in view of the weakness of the central administration and the original want of discipline in the Polish army, it would appear that the authorities could not be held responsible for the excesses, and these therefore lose the character of pogroms. If the excesses had been encouraged or organized by the civil and military authorities the number of victims would probably have been much larger. The excesses are deplorable in themselves, and it is a matter for regret that the authors have not, so far as is known to the Legation, been brought to book.

In criticizing the general condition of the Jews in Poland, it is necessary to bear in mind that their position in this country and the whole of Eastern Europe differs very much from that of their position in Western Europe. In the East they form a larger percentage of the population; and in many cases they form a preponderating element in the towns, so that it is only natural that separatism should have manifested itself. This was strengthened by the fact that the occupations of the Poles differed from those of the Jews. The Poles were either engaged in war or settled on the land, whilst the Jewish communities devoted themselves exclusively to commerce. To this must be added the difference of religion and the encouragement of an anti-Semitic feeling, owing to the introduction by the Russians of special anti-Jewish legislation.

It must be further remembered that, under the influence of economic changes and owing to the fact that since 1832 the Poles have not been allowed to hold posts in the Government, they were gradually obliged to take to trade, and competition between the Jewish population and the Poles commenced. This competition became stronger when the Russian Government allowed co-operative and agricultural societies to be started in Poland. The co-operative movement is becoming very strong and will undoubtedly form an important factor in the development of economic relations in Poland, so that indirectly it will be bound to affect the position of the small Jewish trader.

Sir Stuart Samuel would appear to be mistaken in his appreciation of the part played by the Jews in the pre-war business relations between Poland and Russia and in the industry of the former country. Whereas it is true that goods exported from Poland were to a large extent handled by the Jews, only a small percentage of those goods were actually manufactured by them. The cotton industry in Lodz owes its development more to the Polish industrial community of German extraction than to the Jews.

The statement that initiative in business matters was almost entirely a prerogative of the Jews is exaggerated. A case in point are the co-operatives, which are exclusively Polish.

The fact of Yiddish being akin to German may have been the reason why the Germans employed a large number of Jews during their occupation of Poland, although a great many of the Poles with a good knowledge of German could have been found. There is this difference, however, that the Poles only served the Germans by compulsion, as they considered them to be their enemies. This difference may account for the policy of the Polish Government in relieving many Jews who served Germany of their offices, and not reinstating them whereas no such procedure was applied in the case of the Poles. In this respect, it is perhaps interesting to point out that quite a number of Poles belonging to the so-called "Activists," whose sympathies were pro-German, have not yet obtained any posts under the present Polish Government.

The systematic attempt—more especially by provincial authorities—to oust the Jews from their trade to which Sir Stuart Samuel draws attention is probably due, not so much to the action of these authorities, as to the exceptional development of the co-operative movement in Poland.

In so far as the Polish Government are able to do so by legislation or proclamations, the boycotting of Jews should be prohibited. But I would point out that it is beyond the power of any Government to force its subjects to deal with persons with whom they do not wish to deal. The boycott on various occasions by the Chinese of Japanese merchants is an instance in point.

At the end of his report Sir Stuart Samuel makes various recommendations with a view to improve re-

lations between the Poles and the Jews, and I venture to make the following observations with regard to these recommendations:—

1. The interpretation of the minority clause, article 93 of the Peace Treaty, by Sir Stuart Samuel is justifiable, and should prove workable if the spirit in which the Jewish community expect the Polish Government to interpret the clause in question is also adopted by the Jewish community with regard to the Polish State.

Recommendations Nos. 2 to 6 are certainly very appropriate.

As regards No. 9, Sir Stuart Samuel's recommendation is to be strongly supported. I doubt, however, whether the import of large quantities of raw materials into Poland will improve the situation of the Jewish population and turn it into producers, as the number of Jewish workmen before the war, when there was no scarcity of raw materials, was very limited.

As regards No. 11, I would point out that there exists a national loan bank which at the present moment is playing the part of a State bank, and that there is no differentiation between the Poles and the Jews regarding the business which can be transacted by that bank.

Polish legislation, which is practically the old Russian legislation, makes no difficulties with regard to the founding of banks by Jews, so that the latter are able, if they need it, to start banks in which they can have confidence.

With regard to the final recommendation pointing out the desirability of attaching a secretary who understands and speaks Yiddish to the staff of His Majesty's Legation, I venture to observe that his duties would presumably mainly consist in seeing that article 93 of the Peace Treaty is applied. As the minority clause was guaranteed by the League of Nations, it would appear desirable, if the Polish Government cannot be trusted with the application and carrying out of that article, that the League should supervise the execution of that clause, and I would deprecate His Majesty's Government being alone identified with this question, which would be indirectly the case if the appointment suggested by Sir Stuart Samuel were made.

The two reports which I transmit herewith are, by the instructions given to the Commission, limited to Poland, and therefore do not discuss the conditions of the Jews outside that country. They therefore unavoidably give a partial and consequently false picture of the conditions of the Jews in Eastern Europe, for, as one of the reports points out, their condition in Poland, bad as it may have been or may still be, has been far better than in most of the surrounding countries. Unless all the information on that point is entirely inaccurate, the massacres of Jews by Ukrainian peasant bands can find, in their extent and thoroughness, no parallel except in the massacres of the Armenians in the Turkish Empire. Their very completeness has tended to keep the world in ignorance of them, for towns of many thousand inhabitants almost wholly Jewish have apparently been wiped out. Similar events have taken place outside the Ukraine proper and all over Southern Russia during the anarchy of the last three years, and in countries on a higher level of culture than Southern Russia, such as Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia, persecutions, less sanguinary perhaps, but very brutal and unjust, have also occurred in the interregnum which followed the armistice. (These excesses can compete with any that have occurred on Polish territory.)

In all these lands Jews formerly suffered, but like everybody else they suffered from the oppression of autocratic empires, all of which have now been destroyed. The present-day hardships of the Jews are as much as anything due to the strong nationalist feelings everywhere aroused by the Great War, and this perhaps inevitable conflict with national prejudice may prove even worse than the former oppression by absolute Governments.

The statesmen who drew up the Treaty of Versailles, recognizing the above fact, have imposed special stipulations with a view to protect Jews and other minorities. They have done their best to assist the Jews, but the Jewish congregations in Western Europe should also recognize this aggravation in the state of their Eastern co-religionists, and reflect how best they can help them.

It is giving the Jews very little real assistance to single out, as is sometimes done, for reprobation and protest, the country where they have perhaps suffered least. I have, &c.

H. RUMBOLD.

The Samuel Report

ENCLOSURE NO. 1

(Report of Sir Stuart Samuel)

Sir:

I WAS entrusted by His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs with a mission to Poland on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the primary object of which was to examine the specific charges that have been brought against the Poles of having ill-treated the Jewish population of their country, including any fresh cases of ill-treatment that might be brought to my notice whilst my mission lasted. I was, in particular, instructed to use my best endeavours to ascertain in each case where massacres or outrages of Jews had taken place, where and to what extent the different grades of Polish authorities were to blame either for encouraging or culpably failing to prevent them, or whether they had taken all steps in their power to suppress outbreaks and punish the offenders. The aim of my mission was to dissipate any misunderstandings that might have arisen and thus to promote mutual goodwill between Poland and Great Britain. I was, therefore, instructed to make such recommendations to His Majesty's Government as might occur to me with the object of establishing greater harmony between Jewish and other elements of the population as a satisfactory solution of that problem would obviously go far to promote the national prosperity. The mission left London early in September and remained in Poland about three months. I took excesses against the Jewish population which occurred in Cracow, Lodz, Vilna, Lida, Pinsk and Lemberg as typical, and visited those places from Warsaw. Travelling conditions in Poland at the period of the visits of the mission presented such difficulty, owing to heavy falls of snow and to the fact that a large number of passenger trains had ceased running in consequence of their accommodation being required for the transport of food, that the mission was unable to visit further towns.

My instructions directed my particular attention to the necessity of enquiring into the statements respecting occurrences of excesses or "pogroms" in Poland. In Poland a "pogrom" is understood to be an excess against a certain section of the population, but in England, owing to the experience of previous outbreaks in Russia, the word "pogrom" has become associated with excesses organized by the Government against a portion of the population, or when the authorities took no steps to restrain those perpetrating the excesses, or intervened at a period too late to be effective in preventing the loss of human life. The result of my enquiries brought me to the conclusion that the occurrences at Lemberg,

Lida and Vilna come under the head of pogroms in the sense generally understood in England. The awful massacre at Pinsk partook more of the character of a military murder. During the outbreaks which took place in the two other towns a certain number of Jews were assaulted and plundered, but the military authorities endeavoured to restrict the action of the soldiers as much as possible. Speaking generally, as the civil authority has been able to make its power effective, so the position in the rear of the troops has become more and more satisfactory.

The Polish Government has been confronted with the problem of maintaining order in those portions of the German, Russian and Austrian Empires which have been incorporated within the present Republic of Poland. The establishment of order was entrusted to a semi-military force known as the field gendarmerie, corresponding somewhat to a military police force. This body was recruited from a not very desirable class, and is practically independent of any but the highest civil authority. The gendarmerie has almost unlimited powers, and is in the habit of entering the houses, chiefly of the Jews, at any time of the day or night upon the pretext of searching for arms, and robs and beats the Jews. This is done quite openly, and the Jews may be said to have no means of redress. Proceedings, when taken, are allowed to drift for an interminable period, and usually result in the implicated men being released. There is thus really no security for the Jewish population. Besides the gendarmerie there is a police force, but the remarks applied to the former can be taken as on the whole true with regard to the latter also. The Polish Government recognises the inadequacy of this body, and, I understand, is taking steps to reorganise it.

In addition, the junior authorities of justice and of civil administration also are of inferior standing and *morale*, taking advantage of their position not only to persecute the Jews, but also to exact bribes upon an astonishing scale.

The foregoing remarks apply in a less degree to Galicia, which has been brought under the administration of the Polish Government during the past year. Many former Austrian officials have been retained, who, having been trained under the Austrian Empire, maintain certain traditions which make for a better condition of law and order. These remarks equally apply to the districts of German Poland, but in the remaining portion of Poland the officials being new and inexperienced the deplorable result I have mentioned has ensued. The higher officials both of the Government and of Justice, in my opinion, are not subject to these unfortunate failings, and when-

ever it is possible to obtain the attention of these authorities a rough form of justice is achieved.

The contention of the Polish Government, that it was not strong enough to keep pogroms under control in the past, may perhaps have some cogency, but I should like to draw attention to the fact that, with the exception of events at Minsk, no pogroms have occurred during the stay of either the American Mission or the British Mission to Poland. It would, therefore, appear reasonable to deduce that if the Government is sufficiently strong to restrain wrongdoers for this period, namely, about five months, it should be competent to do so in future.

The Jews in Poland and Galicia number about three millions. As in other countries the large majority of them is very poor, suffering severely from hunger and privation. Want of employment is prevalent, although a large proportion of them are artisans and labourers. They are divided broadly into three classes, namely:—

1. What are known as the Assimilators;
2. The Zionists; and
3. The Orthodox;

though doubtless there are many Orthodox among the Zionists. They speak a jargon known as "Yiddish," which is to be found wherever Jews congregate, but of recent years there is a tendency to employ Hebrew as a living language, though it is seldom used as the colloquial language of the home circle. The fact of their language being akin to German often led to their being employed during the German occupation in preference to other Poles. This circumstance caused the Jews to be accused of having had business relations with the Germans. Almost as soon as the Polish Government was established, ill-feeling became manifest against the Jews. Public opinion had been aroused against them by the institution of a virulent boycott. This boycott dates from shortly after the bye-election for the Duma, which took place in Warsaw in 1912. Amongst the candidates was M. Dmowski, one of the leaders of the National Democratic Party. When the names of the electors came to be scrutinised, it was found that the Jewish electors possessed the controlling influence in the election. They considered, however, that the capital of Poland should not be represented by a member of a minority in the country, and therefore did not present a Jewish candidate, but patriotically offered to support any candidate who would abstain from an anti-Semitic policy. The only candidate willing to accede to this condition was M. Jagiello, a Roman Catholic Pole, who was accordingly returned.¹ M. Dmowski, who was defeated at the poll, thereupon set out on a campaign to break the Jewish influence, and from that time to this has pursued a policy with the object of driving the Jews from Poland, a step which can only be fraught with disaster to the country. During the war, owing to the scarcity of almost everything, the boycott diminished, but with the armistice it revived with much of its original intensity. A charge has been made against the Gov-

ernment of participation in this boycott. The Government publicly declared its disapproval of boycotting, but a certain discrimination seems to have been made in the re-employment of those who served under the German occupation. I find that many Jews who thus served have been relieved of their offices and not reinstated, whereas I can find no evidence of similar procedure in regard to other Poles. Jewish doctors are unable to obtain positions in the hospitals. Other qualified Jews cannot secure appointments as Post Office officials, on the railway staff or as teachers in the public schools and colleges, with the exception of Professor Askenazy, recently appointed to a chair in the University of Warsaw. There is also a limitation of the number of students professing the Jewish religion permitted to enter certain Universities. With the exception of doctors and a few officials in the administrative offices, there are few officers in the army. That this is merely a matter of religious prejudice is shown by the fact that all these posts are open to those Jews who are willing to change their religion.

In time of scarcity essential articles of food, such as bread, potatoes and sugar, are distributed to the population by minor officials. I received many complaints that the Christian population were supplied first, and that in numerous cases the stock was exhausted before all the Jews had received their share. The complaint that Jews and Christians were divided into separate queues, and also that the Jews were discriminated against to their disadvantage in the markets, could not be substantiated.

Without doubt a systematic attempt, more especially by provincial authorities, is being made to oust Jews from their trades, and it is only where these authorities are as a result confronted by peculation and incompetency that they realise the futility of their action. The Government itself is not without some experience of this kind. I had my attention drawn to cases of discrimination against Jews dealing in hides, petroleum, salt, bread and other articles, which, in my opinion, could only have been based upon religious prejudice. I do not find, however, any ground for the complaint that the Government is putting Jewish merchants at a disadvantage in comparison with non-Jews with regard to permission to import goods from abroad. In fact, the club of Jewish merchants at Warsaw, consisting of several thousand members, assured me that the arrangements made were quite satisfactory. I have also received facts and figures from M. Szczeniowski, Minister of Commerce, fully bearing out this point.

A severe private, social and commercial boycott of Jews, however, exists amongst the people generally, largely fostered by the Polish press. In Lemberg I found that there was a so-called social court presided over by M. Przyluski, a former Austrian vice-president of the Court of Appeal, which goes so far as to summon persons having trade relations with Jews to give an explanation of their conduct. Below will be found a copy of a typical cutting from a Polish newspaper giving the name of a Polish countess who sold property to Jews. This was sur-

rounded by a mourning border, such as is usual in Poland in making announcements of death:—

"Malopolska hrabina
"Anna Jablonowska

"sprzedala we wrzesniu b.r. swoje dwie kamienice
przy up. Stryjskiej 1. 18 i 20 zydom: Dogilewskiemu,
Hübnerowi i Erbsenowi.

"Zastepa prawnym pani hrabiny byl adwokat Dr.
Dziedzic, administratorem p. Naszkowski.

"Czy spoleczenstwo polskie bedzie wciaz martwe
i bierne w takich wypadkach?"

(Translation.)

"Countess Anna Jablonowska, resident in Galicia,
has sold her two houses, Stryjska Street, Nos. 18
and 20, to the Jews, Dogilewski, Hübner and
Erbsen.

"The attorney of the Countess was Dr. Dziedzic;
her administrator, M. Naszkowski.

"Will the Polish public for ever remain indifferent
and passive in such cases?"

There can be no doubt that the Government could greatly restrain the virulence of this movement if the powers usually resident in a Government were effectually used to prohibit such agitation. Although the Government declares against boycotting, the Polish press is allowed openly to advocate it, whilst the Yiddish press is suspended for quite trivial offences. It is a well-known fact that the ill-results of boycotting cannot be limited to the class aimed at, for this weapon has a tendency to affect others, and eventually to react upon those who make use of it. The idea widely prevails that the so-called Litvaks, Russian Jews driven to Poland by the former Russian Government, should be induced to return, and I am of opinion that, should a suitable Government and peaceful conditions be re-established in Russia, there would be a general immigration to that country, not only of Jews, but also of other Poles. The ardent hope was frequently expressed to me that Russia would soon be open for immigration, for, although the late Russian Government fomented pogroms and massacres of the Jews, the Russian himself is of a kindly nature and friendly disposed to his neighbour. Business relations between Poland and Russia were very considerable in past, and were generally in the hands of Jews,² not only in the handling of the goods exported, but also of their manufacture. Warsaw, the Polish capital, formed a meeting-place for the merchants of Russia and the western States, and was also a depot for goods eventually destined for Russia. All these trading agencies are now at a standstill, and Poland is feeling the economic result of this stoppage. Other inducements for an industrial population, subjected to a boycott, to leave the country are to be found in the absence of raw materials and in the scarcity of food and fuel, as well as in the hardships consequent upon rising prices arising from the unfavourable conditions of foreign exchange.

Initiative in business matters is almost entirely the prerogative of the Jewish population. In Lodz the cotton industry and the development of the

town has been effected mostly through the instrumentality of the Jews. Manufactures and business generally have, owing to the circumstances prevailing before and during the war, fallen largely into the hands of Jews.³ It is impossible to replace such a valuable section of the community by a fresh body of merchants untrained and unaccustomed to handle the important mercantile interests which should, in view of the advantages accruing to Poland under the Peace Treaty, largely increase in the near future.

The fallacious idea, however, is prevalent in Poland that it is possible to transfer a large percentage of the business carried on by the Jews to other hands. If a Jewish Pole is driven from his factory or business the act does not provide more work for the Christian Pole, but diminishes it. When the question of external trade comes to be considered it is impossible to displace without grave results firms who have built up a business over a long series of years, who are acquainted with, and know the requirements of, their customers in remote countries and have gradually acquired confidence and credit. No new combination, whether Jewish or Christian, could conduct such a business successfully except after long experience. Moreover, I found it to be a fact that the Jewish Pole commands greater trust than his neighbours. To such an extent is this the case in Poland that nearly the whole of the estate agents who act for the Polish nobility are of Jewish race. The real interest of the Polish State would seem to be rather in the direction of developing and encouraging the export business hitherto carried on by Jews; in this way lies almost the sole hope of the economic regeneration of Poland and of the rehabilitation of its depreciated currency. In this connection it should be remembered that depreciation of currency as expressed in terms of external values does not arise solely from an adverse trade balance, but that a normal rate of exchange demonstrates also the healthy functioning of stable Government and the consequent safety of life and property.

Polish statesmen frequently assert that the proportion of Jewish small tradesmen to the general population is too great. If the complaint were limited to this alone it might safely be left to find its own remedy, for I found that the children of this class were not satisfied to follow the parents' vocation but were endeavouring, by means of attending technical and other schools, to attain a higher educational and social level. This class, however, little above the pauper, ever finds itself driven back upon itself by the economic restraints which it encounters until at last, in desperation, it is forced to emigrate. I found but few families that had not one member at least in America or Canada. Experience has shown, as in the case of Ireland, that it is always a disadvantage to a country to have an emigration of despairing people, as these sow the seed of their discontent in other lands. A further remedy for this congestion of occupation would be to introduce into Poland new industries, for which Jews in other countries have evinced special aptitude. The difficulty of securing raw material limits

the occupations available at the present time, but it would appear quite feasible to start factories for the manufacture of waterproofing, galoshes, furniture, boots, and clothing. Doubtless western Jews would be prepared to assist their brethren to reach a higher plane of industrial development, but unfortunately the Christian Poles, although not undertaking such enterprises to any extent themselves, exhibited distinct hostility to any such suggestion which would benefit both the Jews and the State alike. Many Poles, however, enlarge the demand for a reduction of the number of small Jewish tradesmen to one for the reduction of the Jewish population as a whole. This proposition is fraught with a danger not confined to the Jews; it is a danger to the State. To render the conditions of life so intolerable to the Jew as to force him to leave his native country, has ever been followed by disastrous consequences to the country, where this form of persecution has been essayed; whereas in every country, where the Jew has been granted an effective citizenship, he has proved himself a mainstay of law and order. The Jew has usually so much to lose through the consequences of disorder that he ranges himself instinctively on the side of good government. It is for the Poles to choose whether they will follow the example of Great Britain, the United States of America, France, Holland, Italy and the other liberal-minded States which have treated the Jew equitably, or link their fate with ancient Egypt, mediæval Spain and modern Russia. It must further be considered that when the Jew is driven out, his capital is driven out with him. In fact, in most cases it precedes him, for the poor and helpless Jew is not the first to leave in face of economic persecution such as a boycott or the fear of personal safety, but rather he who possesses the means to seek happier conditions of livelihood elsewhere. Thus, at the very time when it is vital to the interest of Poland to import capital, were the suggested policy carried into action, it would have for its result the export of capital. In addition, there is the danger that the better minds amongst non-Jews would not be willing to remain in a country wherein truth and justice are absent.

Another policy appears to have as its object the identification of Jews as Bolsheviks in order to distract public attention from the Government. The real danger of Bolshevism, however, is to be sought in other directions, although it should not be matter for surprise if some of the younger generation of educated Jews, finding all avenues of advancement and fair play barred, should be found ready to listen to proposals for freedom and equality of opportunity. It is a fair retort that the Government policy is making potential revolutionaries of these peoples. If the Polish Government would grant the Jews a genuine, and not a masked, equality, they would secure the support of the most conservative law-abiding and loyal section of the population. All the Jews ask is to be allowed to live in peace and safety. By grinding them down by economic differentiation a certain number of these people may be induced to emigrate, but the

danger will always remain that a certain residuum will be forced into the ranks of the disaffected and disloyal. The Jew may be robbed, plundered, have his beard cut and be otherwise insulted for a time, but who can be surprised if a point be reached when men will not tolerate such treatment longer and will be prepared to make the utmost sacrifices to achieve the honour of their manhood?

Under this hard and continued pressure many Jews have been constrained to change their religion, and it is mostly these "Jews" who are meant when "Jews" are mentioned as being in Government employ.

I made careful enquiries in various parts of Poland as to the extent to which Bolshevik principles had permeated the Jewish population, and the highest estimate which I encountered was 10 per cent. of their number, a considerably less proportion, according to my informants, than characterises the population as a whole. In investigating the truth of the statement that Jews in Poland sympathise with Bolshevism, attention must be paid to the fact that Jews form the middle class almost in its entirety.⁴ Above are the aristocracy and below are the peasants. Their relations with the peasants are not unsatisfactory. The young peasants cannot read the newspapers and are therefore but slightly contaminated by anti-Semitism until they enter the army. I was informed that it is not at all unusual for Polish peasants to avail themselves of the arbitrament of the Jewish rabbi's courts. Another point to be borne in mind is that a very considerable proportion of the Jews belong to the orthodox form of the religion. If I understand aright, Bolshevism stands against both religion and the *bourgeoisie*; it must therefore be clear from the above statements that by the acceptance of these tenets most of the Polish Jews would but compass their own destruction.

In conclusion, I desire to point out that, if the social boycott were successful in securing a large emigration of Jews, it would result in a very large decrease in the productive powers of Poland. As the future of the republic depends largely upon its exports exceeding its imports the future of the State itself might be imperilled. The Polish Government would be well advised in its own interests that to take immediate and active measures to bring this unsatisfactory condition of affairs to a speedy end would be acting in the best interests of the people committed to its charge.

I now propose to report upon the result of my investigations into the excesses perpetrated in the towns I visited in the order they occurred. Before doing so I would like to remark that as statements that the Jews were enemies of the rest of the population, and that all misfortunes were to be ascribed to their influence, were constantly circulated, and the Jews formed an easy prey for robbery and plunder, attacks upon them were to be expected. It was, however, the evil example of the military as they entered captured towns which as a rule incited the civil population to join in the pogroms. If the military commanders had but performed their duty

to humanity and their office, the loss of life would have been considerably less. Poland, too, would not be burdened with these still unpunished crimes.

Lemberg.—With regard to the events in Lemberg on the 21st, 22nd and 23rd November, 1918, consideration has to be given to the very remarkable position that was to be found in that city at that period, and it is noteworthy upon what a small scale were the operations. Previous to the date mentioned the Ukrainian army consisted of about 10,000 men in occupation of that portion of East Galicia, but General Monczynski raised a Polish army, about 1,500 in number, consisting of men, women, boys, some of them criminals, and, after a severe struggle, succeeded in capturing half the city, the other half of which remained in the occupation of the Ukrainians. The Jewish part of the population of Lemberg declared itself to be neutral. After street fighting of a severe character the Polish forces succeeded in driving the Ukrainians entirely out of the city. This result was achieved through the advent of a considerable body of Polish troops brought under General Roja from Posen. It has been proved to my satisfaction that these troops were promised three days free looting of the Jewish quarter, and I had it in evidence that Jews were warned by Christian friends of the certainty of a pogrom on the days mentioned. The Polish soldiers and population were somewhat incensed by the attitude of the Jews in not having assisted them in their struggle, but nothing can excuse the work of robbery and murder which took place on the days mentioned (21st, 22nd and 23rd November).

Helena Schine deposed that a body of soldiers came to her house, shot her father, her brother and her brother-in-law, and would have shot her, but she gave them 3,000 crowns and they went away. The soldiers came again at about 12 o'clock in the day and shot her brother, who was still living, though previously wounded, dead. They broke open the safe and stole the silver plate. Another body of soldiers came to the house about 5 o'clock. She had by then taken refuge on the third floor with a Polish woman, who when the soldiers came the third time sent them away.

Various other witnesses deposed that many buildings were set on fire with petroleum obtained from a store; as the occupants ran out to escape the flames, they were shot down in the street in cold blood by Polish soldiers. The synagogue was burned, the safe being opened by means of machine-gun fire, and the scrolls of the law were burned and everything of value removed. The result of the three days' looting was that fifty-two Jews were killed, 463 wounded, and a large amount of property stolen.

It should be stated that proceedings were taken against General Roja, who was in command of the Posen troops, but he was declared to be suffering from a nervous breakdown.

The Poles alleged that the Jews, whilst calling themselves neutrals, had shown active sympathy

with the Ukrainians, but the evidence given did not, in my opinion, support that contention.

The charge brought against the Jewish militia—a body consisting of 200 men of Jewish race enrolled to defend and keep order in the Jewish quarter—of having fired at the Polish troops has been recently the subject of proceedings in the Polish Courts; the charge was dismissed.

In the result none of the military commanders responsible for these events has been punished, and no compensation has been paid for the damage done.

Pinsk.—The events at Pinsk on the 5th April, 1919, when thirty-five Jews were shot, took place about ten days after the town had been taken from the Bolsheviks by the Polish army. The Polish command had, a day or two before, suffered a reverse at the hands of the Bolsheviks and were in a state of nervousness as to an attack on the town. It seems that two Polish soldiers, one named Kosak, who is now in prison for robbery, and another soldier, since reported as killed in action, informed the military authorities that they had information that the Jews intended to hold a Bolshevik meeting on Saturday in what is known as the People's House, being the headquarters of the Zionists.

The events that followed appear to be so incredible that I think it best to give the evidence of the witnesses. Abraham Feinstein, president of the Zionist Co-operative Society, deposed that about the 28th March he received a letter from the Government Organiser of Co-operative Societies, M. Trofimowicz (a non-Jew), stating that it was desirable that all co-operative societies in the town should combine, and giving them up to the 7th April to make their decision. He enclosed the Government permission for the meeting to take place. Notices were posted in the streets and in the large synagogues. The meeting took place on Saturday, the 5th April, and there were about 150 persons present, consisting of men and women. The meeting commenced at 5. M. Eisenberg was in the chair. M. Trofimowicz was present at the opening of the meeting and explained its purpose and left at 5:30. It was decided unanimously to combine. A discussion then took place as to how many delegates were to be sent to the combination. That matter was adjourned, and most of the co-operators went home. Mr. Zukerman, an American, had brought 50,000 marks to be distributed for the holy days. Many of those present went into another room to discuss this, and how the money was to be distributed. Whilst this was going on some boys came in and said soldiers were there to take Jews for forced labour. They all went into the large hall. Soldiers were shouting and others were stealing food from the refreshment room. The house consisted of two floors—shops on the ground floor and the club on the first floor. Feinstein went into a friend's shop on the ground floor to take shelter, and later found the whole building surrounded by soldiers, including Kosak. Kosak stopped people and took bribes from them not to take them for forced labour. Feinstein then hid in Gottleib's store on the ground floor, but

was discovered and a soldier was left to guard him. He heard a shot upstairs. Gottlieb went out to get some water, and came back and said a dead man was lying in the yard. At 10 an under-officer came and said that about fifty arrested people had been shot dead and that his turn would come at 5 o'clock the next morning. At 1:30 A. M. an under-officer and two soldiers came and sent the guarding soldier away. They robbed him and said: "You must go to the Kommandatur, and you will be shot, as all the meeting were Bolsheviks." One soldier, a Polish under-officer, said he could speak Yiddish, and that he was in the synagogue and heard the Jews arrange to act against the Poles, and that he heard a young man say: "We will have a meeting in the People's House at 5." Feinstein stated it was untrue, then the soldier said he would take 150 roubles to let them go, there being six of them in Gottlieb's room, and eventually he consented to take 50 roubles. He then found two pocket-books and took 500 roubles and 600 roubles respectively from them. He then said: "You are free." He accompanied Feinstein along the street and he arrived home at 4 A. M.

Salomon Gittelman, a teacher, deposed that he was arrested at the People's House at about 5 o'clock. He was a member of the Co-operative Society and attended the meeting. He heard a shot. Soldiers then came in and said, "Why have you shot at us?" and ordered all to stand with hands up. They were all searched and beaten. No arms were found. The soldiers ordered all out, surrounded them, and took them to the Kommandatur. They were severely beaten on the way. An army doctor named Bakraba stopped them on the way and enquired what it all meant, and the soldiers replied that the Jews had shot at soldiers. A soldier stepped up and said that they had shot at him and wounded him in the head. The doctor replied, "All these Jews ought to be shot." They arrived at the Kommandatur, were stood out in the street, and were all robbed. There were several officers present. There was no trial. Soldiers came back from the Kommandatur and they were taken to the market-place. They murdered about sixty. Each was placed against the wall. It was extremely dark, and soldiers came with a motor bearing a searchlight. An officer came and looked into everyone's face, and some were removed, including the women. The remainder were then informed that their last moment had come, and they could say their prayers. They then, with the lead of the teacher, uttered in a loud voice their last prayers for the dying (I may mention that these so-called Bolsheviks, who profess a negation of religion, uttered their last prayers in such a loud voice that they could be heard right across the market-place). The officer then commanded the soldiers to shoot. The figures against the wall fell, after which the soldiers came and shot those who moved on the ground. The remainder, who had been put on one side, were then taken to prison at 10 o'clock. There had been no trial and no word whatever said to them previous to the shooting. Nothing to eat was given. Seventeen men were placed in one room, and at 11:30 three

men were brought in. They said that the man Glauberman had been shot, but not at the wall. I have arrived at the conclusion that the shot heard by those in the club was one fired at random by a soldier outside to give colour to the charge that the soldiers had been fired upon, and unfortunately it killed Glauberman, who was hiding in a shed underneath the stairs leading up to the club. I was shown the hole made by the bullet. No arms were found in the possession of these alleged Bolsheviks.

Next morning an under-officer came and took their names, and said: "We will show you what has become of your friends." Nineteen of them were taken to the cemetery by a gendarme and some soldiers. They were shown a freshly filled-in grave. They were given shovels and told to reopen the grave. This done, they were placed together in a row. Soldiers arrived and were placed in front of them with rifles levelled at them. The gendarme said to the soldiers: "Are you ready?" One of the prisoners, an elderly teacher, then prayed in a loud voice as follows: "O Lord, forgive thy servants. Thou art powerful to save even now." The words were no sooner out of his mouth than an elderly gendarme came to the gendarme in command and whispered something to him. He ordered the prisoners to fill up the grave again, and they were taken to the prison, and eventually Gittelman was sent home. Two of those shot were teachers, colleagues of his for twenty years. It appears that Miss Rabinovitch, who gave evidence later, had intervened on their behalf.

Aaron Rubin, an elderly manager of a match factory, deposed that he was present at the co-operative meeting. He stated that the soldiers in the large room searched the people and beat them. One man had 11,500 roubles in his possession, which was stolen from him. He shouted that he had been robbed of this amount. A soldier then went downstairs, and shortly came back and said: "Who has shot?" Rubin generally confirmed the previous witness's evidence. He was one of those taken from the wall and taken to the cemetery. In the cemetery the soldiers loaded their rifles and said their last moment had come. After they had returned to the prison, a gendarme interviewed them and endeavoured to get a confession from them. Each one was taken separately in a separate room, stripped, and beaten with straps and ramrods. They were then all put together in one room half dead from flogging. This included six women. They were told to put on their clothes and return to their cells. On Tuesday a gendarme came and said that if there were an enquiry they must say that they had not been beaten. On Wednesday he was released by doctor's orders.

A young lady who desired her name not to be published, aged about 25, deposed that she went to the People's House to enquire as to whether she was to participate in the American money. Soldiers came in and began to eat food they found in a cupboard. They were seeking young Jews for forced labour. An elderly officer came and said they were all to go into the large room. They searched the

people, and the first man searched had over 10,000 roubles. In her opinion all that followed was to cover the robbery. She confirmed the statement that they were all taken outside the Kommandatur. She confirmed the interview with Dr. Bakraba, but added that Dr. Bakraba himself beat a girl named Eisenberg. No question was put to them. They remained in the street. They expected they would be brought into the Kommandatur but were not, and remained in the street. A passer-by named Krasalstchik, who was walking on the pavement with a Miss Polak, was taken by the soldiers and included with the prisoners, and eventually shot. They were then all taken to the market-place and put against the wall of the church. All was dark. She saw some of the women led away a short distance, so she walked out of the line too. All those remaining at the wall were given time to say their last words. A teacher chanted the last Jewish prayers for the dying, and the others repeated them after him. They were then shot dead. The survivors were told their time would come on the morrow, and that they would be hanged. From the wall they were led to the prison. The women were in a separate room. The Polish guard treated them very badly, but the Governor of the prison treated them kindly. The warders said they would be shot. A gendarme came later and they were all led to a room, stripped naked, revolvers put to their heads and flogged. They were then turned out of the room naked with their clothes in their hands into a corridor full of soldiers, who kicked and struck them. They were then sent into another room where they dressed and were allowed to go free.

M. Abrahamovitch gave evidence that he heard a noise, was frightened, and hid in the roof of the synagogue on the other side of the market-place. At a quarter to 9 in the evening of Saturday he heard firing and groans that lasted all night, and soldiers laughing. One of the men, Palatzny, was shot and only slightly wounded; at 5:30 on the morning of the 6th April he got up and ran away. He was observed by the soldiers and shot dead.

Sonia Rabinovitch, a girl student from Kieff, was staying at Pinsk with her father. Polish officers lived at her father's house, and she was able to intervene to save the people at the cemetery. (I have no doubt that the eventual release of these people was the direct consequence of the arrival of an American officer who began to make enquiries.)

An official statement relative to these events issued on the 7th April by General Listovski, commander of the group, I find devoid of all credence.

The treatment meted out to these so-called Jewish Bolsheviks is in contrast to the treatment of avowedly Bolshevik Poles. M. Gabryl Kiewicz was commissary for the town, a post corresponding to mayor, during the Bolshevik occupation, and he is now a paid official in the Election Office.⁵ M. Melech, who was administrator of the Food Department for the Bolsheviks, is now employed in the municipal administration.

In conversation with local Christian Poles the

Mission was informed that the town was heartily ashamed of this dreadful tragedy, and believed that the people massacred were quite innocent.

In conclusion, I may state that Major Luczynski and Lieutenant Landsberg, who were in command on the occasion mentioned, in no way have been punished. They have simply been removed to other posts. I have endeavoured unsuccessfully to see Major Luczynski.

Under the present local administration Pinsk is once more peaceful, and the relations between the Christian and the non-Christian inhabitants have become normal.

Lida.—On the 16th April, 1919, the Poles attacked the Bolshevik troops occupying Lida, this being the second day of the Jewish Passover. The Jews were frightened and there were only ten Jews in the synagogue, the rest remaining in their houses. It was proved to my satisfaction that on the 16th the Bolsheviks ordered all their soldiers to leave their billets and return to barracks. This they refused to do, and when the Polish troops entered the town, they shot at them from the windows of the houses. This was in the poorer Jewish quarter, because most of the best houses were taken possession of by officers, leaving the less desirable houses to be occupied by their men. Consequently when the Polish troops eventually entered the town on the morning of the 17th they attacked the Jewish quarter, killing on the two days, the 16th and the 17th, thirty-five Jews. The case of the man Poukoff and his son, who were first robbed of 150,000 roubles and then taken out into the street and shot without trial, was a particularly bad case. In fact, the bulk of the people killed were either murdered in their houses or shot outside them. On the 19th only there was a court-martial, when six Jews and two Christians were sentenced to be shot. On the 17th 200 Jews were arrested in the Jewish quarter, but were released without any trial after five days. The Rabbi of the place, Rabbi Rabinovitch, was arrested, robbed and beaten, together with many other Jews. On the 18th a body of a soldier was found mutilated, and the Jews were accused of having murdered him; this caused great excitement in the town. It was said that a Catholic priest intervened, and asked in church that anyone who knew anything of the case should inform him. Later the excitement died down, and the rumour was spread that the priest had interfered to say that the murderer was not a Jew. The priest referred to had left Lida, and I was unable to obtain confirmation of this story, but believe it to be true.

Vilna was taken from the Bolsheviks on the 19th April, 1919, by Polish troops. The rumour was spread that the Jews had shot at the Polish soldiers, whereupon soldiers and civilians commenced a massacre and robbery of the Jews which lasted three days. Fifty-five Jews were killed, including two well-known authors, MM. Weiter and Ivianski, a large number were wounded and 2,000 arrested as sympathisers with the Bolsheviks. Of these 1,000 were released upon guarantees being given, and the

remainder were removed to internment camps under conditions of the greatest hardship. Most of these poor people have been kept in these unsanitary and loathsome camps, suffering hunger and frequent beatings, without trial, and had not been released at the time of the mission's visit in November. Amongst those arrested for having shot at the Polish soldiers were the Rev. I. Rubinstein, one of the principal Rabbis, and Dr. Shabad, the head of the community. I may add that the 19th April was a Saturday, when, being the Jewish Sabbath, a Rabbi would be most unlikely to carry or use firearms. Nevertheless, these gentlemen were marched by soldiers through the streets, beaten and spat upon not only by the mob, but also by well-dressed ladies and gentlemen, till they reached a garden where they were informed that they were about to be shot. After a detention during which they expected every minute to be their last, these gentlemen eventually were released through the intervention of an officer and sent home. The killing and plundering lasted for three days, many houses being completely looted and the synagogue desecrated, in spite of the presence in the city of General Joseph Pilsudski, the Chief of the State. Officers stated publicly that they regarded all the Vilna Jews as enemies and sympathisers with Bolsheviks. A certain number of Jews, owing to their better education, undoubtedly acted as officials during the Bolshevik régime. But the fact of Christian Poles acting in a similar manner does not seem to have aroused resentment. My attention was called to several instances where former Bolshevik officials still occupied public offices. M. Solimani was on the Economical Council of the Bolsheviks, and at the time of the mission's visit was in the Agricultural Department; but is now a Polish railway official. M. Jachimowicz, of the Bolshevik Economical Department, is now secretary to the Municipality of Vilna. The Jews do not appear, however, to have supported the Bolsheviks in a military sense. The Bolsheviks publicly complained that only 1 per cent. of their army were Jews. With regard to the alleged shooting by Jews upon Polish troops, M. Zmaczynski, President of the Court of the province, and M. Buyko, Vice-President of the Court, both gentlemen of high character, informed the mission that they themselves had seen Jewish men and women (civilians) firing for two hours in Populanki and Alexandrovskaya Boulevard.

Further, there was submitted for my inspection an official copy of a declaration purporting to be signed by four members of the Danish Legation, Section B, at Petrograd, to the effect that on the 19th April at the Vilna railway station, they had been witnesses of a fusillade directed by the Jewish civil population against the Polish troops. With regard to this statement, the Danish Legation at Warsaw was kind enough to make some enquiry at the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Danish Government in reply communicated to His Majesty's Government the following declaration by the former Danish Minister at Petrograd:—

"I have the honour to state that two of

the signatories of the document in question, Sachsenburg and Ernst, both Austrians, were at one time employed in Section B at the Danish Legation, the former in the Passport Office, the latter as a copying clerk. Dr. Klein I do not recall. As stated in this Legation's report No. 221 of the 6th December last, there has never been any Danish Mission at Vilna or Warsaw, and when the individuals concerned state, in a document dated Warsaw, the 25th April, 1919, that they are members of the Royal Danish Legation, this allegation must be regarded as entirely unjustifiable and deserves to be repudiated. It would lead very far if all persons who at any time have been employed in Section B were to be entitled for the rest of their lives to describe themselves as 'members of the Royal Danish Legation.' The declaration is, as far as I can judge, perfectly authentic."

If Jewish civilians actually did fire upon Polish soldiers—and I found it impossible to distinguish between the type of Jew prevailing in the Vilna-Pinsk district and that of the ordinary Russian or Tartar inhabitants—the fact cannot justify the whole civilian population being handed over defenceless to massacre and rapine. I regret to state that no official investigation has been made into these outrages and no one punished.

The excesses reported from Cracow and Lodz took the form of local riots arising from transient causes. Though considerable property was destroyed and plundered and many Jews seriously assaulted both by soldiers and civilians, there was no actual loss of life except that of one man—although that is one too many—at the latter place. I am of opinion that the affair at Lodz might have attained considerably less proportions if, when the police proved unequal to quell the disturbance, the military authorities had acted with greater promptitude.

A young man, Selig Lipman, a survivor of an attack on a farm at Slobodka Lesna, made the following declaration before me at Warsaw.⁶

Farm at Slobodka Lesna

"In peace time the farm was an agricultural college, and there were between sixty and seventy students. It is an estate belonging to the Jewish Colonial Association situated near the village of Lesna. The students were being prepared for agricultural work in Palestine. There are two houses on the farm: one the house of the director and the other where the pupils were housed. At the time of the following events there were at the college thirteen boy and four girl students.

"On the 6th June, 1919, the army of General Zeligowsky was marching from Russia through Roumania to Poland.

"The farm is situated near the main road, and the students were engaged at their usual occupations when some of the artillery of this army and about 200 cavalry halted not far from the farm. Pickets were placed at the two entrances to the farm.

"An officer, a corporal and some soldiers came to the director's house. A cart was in front of the house loaded with grain. The soldiers took five sacks. A portion of the picket meanwhile surrounded the students' house. They proceeded to whip the students. I myself was not in the house as I was engaged in getting some cows out of the stable. I understand the soldiers asked the students if they were Polish. They replied: 'No, they were Jews.' Whereupon the soldiers began to beat them with swords. One of the boys, whilst being beaten, put up his hand to protect himself, and had his hand badly wounded by a sword. He then attempted to escape, but was unable to do so as he was followed by mounted soldiers. So he threw himself flat on the ground and they rode over him. He then sought refuge in a distillery.

"The rest of the boys were driven into the blacksmith's foundry. The soldiers then shot dead three of them:—

"Samuel Presser, aged 19, was killed instantaneously.

"Joseph Ball, aged 18, and { died shortly after.
"Zevi Rothenburg, aged 18 }

"Subsequently the soldiers went to the distillery where the boy, Jacob Wilf, had taken refuge and shot him three times. He was not mortally wounded and has since recovered.

"Ball, who was still living, was removed by two girl students to their room. This was discovered by the soldiers, who went there and shot him dead through the head. Rothenburg, already dead, had his throat cut by the soldiers.

"The girls then hid themselves, and, not being discovered, were not molested.

"The whole of the proceedings only lasted half-an-hour. When I returned from the stables the whole business had finished. As soon as the soldiers came to the house I was ordered by the director to get the cows into the meadow, and so was not present when the above events took place.

"The soldiers asked the Director if he was a Jew, and he stated that he was a Czech, and was therefore not molested.

"On the previous night these same soldiers killed a Jewish family of six people; a Ruthenian peasant (non-Jewish) was taken into a forest and shot, and another Ruthenian peasant flogged and beaten.

"(Signed) SELIG LIPMAN."

Having dealt with these excesses in detail, I will now proceed to consider them as a whole.

It is very difficult to ascertain the number of lives lost through these painful occurrences, but, taking the lowest figure in cases of doubt, the total cannot be less than 348. These figures, terrible though they be, fail to convey an impression of the terrible condition of apprehension and anxiety under which the Jews labour. The military authorities, under the pretext of military necessity, arbitrarily took

Jews, but rarely Christians, for forced labour. There was seldom any necessary labour to be performed, and on most occasions upon payment of a bribe these men were released. In one town, Bobrojuisk, Jews were taken from the Synagogue on the Day of Atonement and forced to remove dung from the military stables and streets. Even old men were forced to do this work. At Lemberg Jews were taken for forced labour at any time of the night. In order to avoid this the Jewish Relief Committee undertook to provide labourers. They paid nearly three million crowns in bribery, but Jews were still taken and sent back, as there was no work for them to do, though at that same time still more Jews were being taken in the streets for forced labour.

Unfortunately their distinctive dress and mien, and their practice of not cutting the beard, in accordance with the Biblical precept, render them easy butts for hooligan humour. My attention was directed to numerous cases of Jews being assaulted and robbed in railway trains, and their beards cut at railway stations, nearly all these outrages being perpetrated by soldiers travelling on the railway. The railway authorities appear to have been both unwilling and unable to restrain these excesses. In no instance was I able to ascertain that any punishment followed the offence.

I noticed in several towns, more especially in Warsaw, that the streets in the Jewish quarter were left uncleansed and were in a state of worse repair than other parts of the city. It does not appear to be recognised that a sanitary danger to a portion of the community involves sanitary danger to the whole.

On several occasions the resentment of the soldiery and civil population was aroused by the Zionists' claim to Jewish nationality as opposed to Polish nationality. The same claim was declared to me by Government officials to be the reason for the non-admission of Jews into the Post Office and other Government offices, but no evidence was adduced to me that Jews not so declaring themselves of separate nationality were able to secure appointments.

A serious feature of the situation is the fact that it is very difficult for the Jews to obtain redress and restitution. Although nominally every citizen is free to approach the Government, actually representations produce no result.

At present the Jews are considerably under represented in the Polish Parliament (Sejm), having only 11 out of 390 seats.⁷ This is largely owing to the manner in which the boundaries of the present constituencies are drawn. Until they secure a representation of about forty members, which is about their proportion of the general population, it will be difficult for them to make any appreciable impression upon public opinion. Most of the requests made to the Polish Government appear to be met with the reply that the Jews have their privileges in accordance with their numerical proportion to the rest of the population. Whilst this rejoinder is apparently frank and just, it is nevertheless specious; the Jews, as in most other parts of the world,

have specialised in definite occupations. To answer their complaints, when their own representative industries are attacked, to the effect that they have their proper proportion of privileges, appears to be a refinement of casuistry. I feel, however, that the Government eventually will be able to make its sobering influence more directly felt by the general population; meanwhile the Jews must have patience in order to give time for this to become effective.

I have striven to detail and discuss the distressing incidents under investigation with a restraint befitting the official mission with which I have had the honour to be entrusted. I feel bound, however, to place on record the pain and horror with which I listened to the eye-witnesses of these callous and bloodthirsty crimes by which so many innocent and harmless people were done to death.

I consider that the bare recital of these terrible events is enough to reveal how insecure are Jewish life and property in Poland, and how easily—if the evil causes at work be not speedily removed—excesses may break out again, possibly upon a far more serious scale.

Many countries have been affected by temporary waves of anti-Semitism. The movement has been somewhat accentuated in Poland at the present time owing to war, famine and the difficult political position. Poles generally are of a generous nature, and if the present incitements of the press were repressed by a strong official hand Jews would be able to live, as they have done for the past 800 years, on good terms with their fellow citizens in Poland.

In the hope of assisting this desirable consummation I have the honour to submit the following recommendations for the consideration of His Majesty's Government. I would draw your attention to the fact that I have not embodied in this report any matters which I was not able to investigate personally during the stay of the mission in Poland:—

Recommendations

1. That the Polish Government be urged to carry out the clauses of the Minority Treaty of June 28, 1919, in a spirit of sympathy with its Jewish subjects. A State can only be strong when all sections of its inhabitants are working unitedly and in mutual confidence for its welfare.

2. That a genuine and not a "masked" equality be accorded to the Jewish population of Poland.

3. That all outrages against the person or property of the subject, irrespective of religion or race, should be promptly punished and the names of the delinquents published. This latter action is especially necessary, inasmuch as the State does not punish out of revenge but as a deterrent to others.

4. That Jews in East Galicia be restored to their

official positions in the same manner as non-Jews have been.

5. That Jewish railway officials and employees be restored to their posts in the same manner as non-Jews have been.

6. That no restrictions should be placed upon the number of Jews admitted to the Universities.

7. That a decree be published declaring boycotts illegal, and ordering all publications advocating boycott to be suspended.⁸

8. That all prisoners in internment camps be brought to immediate trial, and that humane treatment be assured to all interned prisoners.

9. That facilities be afforded for the introduction of new industries into Poland with a view to converting a larger proportion of the Jewish population into producers.

10. That the British Government should assist Jews wishing to emigrate from Poland by providing facilities to proceed to countries such as Palestine, Canada, South Africa, Algeria and South America, or any other country desiring to receive them.

11. That banks be established possessing the confidence of the Jewish public, so that money might be deposited therein instead of being carried on the person or concealed in dwellings.⁹

12. That the desirability of a secretary who understands and speaks Yiddish being added to the staff of His Majesty's Legation at Warsaw be considered.

I have to thank M. Hendryk Wolowski, of the Polish Foreign Office, who was detailed to act as liaison officer between the British Mission and the various Ministries, for his invaluable services in securing such information as was desired, and for his courteous aid and assistance in furthering the object and securing the comfort of the mission during its stay in Poland.

I have also to inform you that consequent upon the introduction of the mission by Sir Percy Wyndham, then British Minister, to M. de Skrzynski, acting Prime Minister in M. Paderewski's absence, every assistance was rendered by the Polish Government to the mission in prosecuting its enquiry.

I beg to thank you for the advice and assistance you rendered me.

I desire to add that Mr. Sidney Phillips and Mr. David Bassis rendered efficient service respectively as secretary and interpreter.

I have, &c.

STUART M. SAMUEL.

Sir Horace Rumbold, Bart., K.C.M.G., M.V.O.

Footnotes

¹ An entirely different light is thrown on this matter in the report of Captain Wright, who, on page 41, in speaking of the election, says: "In 1912 the dispute between Poles and Jews, assiduously encouraged by the Tsarist authorities, came to an issue in the Duma elections. The Warsaw Jews, by a neat but perfectly legitimate manoeuvre, got control of the elections, and, with sardonic humor, returned to the Duma a member of such kind that whenever the representative of the capital of Poland got on his feet the Duma roared with laughter." Jagiello belonged to the faction of the Socialist party which had renounced Polish independence, hence, far from being patriotic, the Jews had chosen as their representative a man who had openly bowed to Russian domination. The Polish Socialists did not support Jagiello.

² and ³ In the Letter of Transmittal, Sir H. Rumbold says: "Sir Stuart Samuel would appear to be mistaken in his appreciation of the part played by the Jews in the pre-war business relations between Poland and Russia, and in the industry of the former country. Whereas it is true that the goods exported from Poland were to a large extent handled by the Jews, only a small percentage of those goods were actually manufactured by them. The cotton industry in Lodz owes its development more to the Polish industrial community of German extraction than to the Jews. The statement that the initiative in business was almost entirely a prerogative of the Jews is exaggerated. A case in point are the co-operatives, which are exclusively Polish." Statistics compiled before the war showed that only 33 per cent. of the factories were in the hands of Jews.

⁴ Even the Jews have almost without exception admitted that their race in Poland has for centuries had the lowest standing of living of all the residents of Poland. The recent typhus epidemic was far more extensive among the Jews than the Poles because the louse-carried disease flourished amid the filth of the Jewish abodes. Captain Wright in his report says: "This civilization of nothing less than half the Polish Jews is not only far from European, but it is also very primitive. It is the civilization of the age of Ezra and Nehemiah in the fifth century before the Christian...."

⁵ A great distinction was drawn between those cases in which the individuals who accepted office under the invaders did so in order to lighten the impositions upon their fellow citizens and those in which the offices were sought by persons frankly anxious to desert the Polish cause. All cases of this kind were tried for high treason, and the fact that the individuals here mentioned were acquitted is proof of the fact that they did not turn against their country, but merely accepted distasteful positions in the interests of Poles.

⁶ Though Sir Stuart Samuel here fully credits the unsupported story of a young Jew he says on page 28 that "An official statement....issued on the 7th of April by General Listovski, commander of the group, I find devoid of all credence." In several cases he gives unsupported testimony which "was proved to my satisfaction" without giving further sources.

⁷ Poland has general man and woman suffrage. In addition, the law provides for proportional representation, guaranteeing the representation of minorities. An equal number of voters is in all cases entitled to equal representation. Voting is by secret ballot. There exists no reason why Jews cannot by voting obtain the full representation that their strength warrants.

⁸ Though the Polish Government has in many cases taken drastic steps against boycott movements and has removed army officials because of their tolerance of boycotts, the recommendation here given would cause the Government of a free country to take a step backward to suppression and reaction.

⁹ Sir Rumbold says: "I would point out that there exists a national loan bank....and that there is no difference between Poles and Jews regarding the business transacted at the bank. Polish legislation....makes no difficulties with regard to the founding of banks by Jews, so the latter are able, if they need it, to start banks in which they have confidence."



The Captain Wright Report

ENCLOSURE NO. 2.

Sir,

THE Mission arrived in Warsaw on the 18th September, 1919. Sir Stuart Samuel, the Chief Commissioner, left on the 6th December, and I left on the 18th December. This report was written before my departure.

The chief task imposed on the Commission sent out to examine the condition of the Jews in Poland was to enquire into any excesses committed against the Jews that might be brought to the notice of the Commission. But on enquiries into these excesses I found, as might be expected, they were only the expression of a mutual animosity. Therefore no examination of the excesses could be complete unless we enquired into the nature and origin of their animosity. But on enquiring into this deep and ancient quarrel, I found no examination of it could be complete unless we enquired into the history of the Jews in Poland. One subject thus leading to another, I wished, even at the risk of appearing pedantic or presumptuous or superficial, to try to understand and to explain, first, the past history of the Jews in Poland; secondly, the causes of the unparalleled anti-Semitic feeling existing there; and lastly, those excesses which are the effects of these violent feelings.

There was another reason for extending the enquiry to these rather too-distant limits. The Poles complained bitterly of foreign Commissions meddling with their national affairs without any acquaintance with the history of their past, as if they were savages without any past history at all. This complaint seemed to me reasonable and just; for our own domestic questions, like the Irish question, for example, could hardly be understood by foreigners ignorant of and indifferent to our past history. This was another reason for at least endeavoring to give this scope to our enquiry, though time and other qualifications might perhaps be insufficient.

West Jews and East Jews

Even at present, in spite of the large outflow from the original reservoir into the Western world on both sides of the Atlantic, three-fifths of the world's Jews live in what was once the Kingdom of Poland. A century ago, before the outflow began, four-fifths or even nine-tenths, did. In the capital of Poland, Warsaw, at least every third person is a Jew, and there are 600 synagogues; in many provincial towns four out of five inhabitants, in some even nine out of ten, are Jews; nearly everything

printed that strikes the eye in the streets of such small provincial towns, is not in our, but in the Hebrew alphabet. Every village, every estate has one or two Jews on it. At the most only one out of every 200 people in the British Isles is Semitic; but in Poland, taking the whole country, one out of every seven at least.

But it is a difference not only in quantity but in kind. The Germans, placed as they are between the Jews of Eastern and those of Western Europe, and so able to see the difference, always distinguish in their numerous scientific writings between what they call East Jews and West Jews, and these names are convenient.

Language is the most easily discernible, as it is the strongest proof, of the differences. West Jews, in an overwhelming majority, speak the language of their country. East Jews do not: among themselves they speak, with slight variations in different districts, a Middle-High German dialect, contemptuously called jargon in Eastern Europe, and where it survives in the East End of London, as Yiddish. It is often treated as a debased form of German, but it is nothing of the sort, any more than the language of Chaucer is a debased form of English. It is a mediæval dialect, and still spoken by the peasants of the Black Forest. The very word "Yiddish" is the modern German word "Jüdisch," meaning Jewish, pronounced with the correct mediæval accent.

To write this Yiddish, Hebrew characters are used. Concurrently with it, Hebrew is used as a religious language, and within the last generation the Zionists have endeavoured to substitute it for Yiddish as a popular language to write magazines, conduct education, and to talk nothing else; but, even as a religious language, Hebrew is not, as among at least the majority of the West Jews, the privilege of a few learned Semitic scholars; it is a language that every educated East Jew learns and in which the pious reads his sacred books with the same zeal as the pious Protestant pores over his Bible. The "Jewish Press" in Western Europe is newspapers owned and edited by Jews; but in Eastern Europe it means daily newspapers printed in these old Semitic letters, utterly different from either the Latin letters used by Poles or Hellenic letters used by Russians, and so singular and unique in Europe as the only Semitic alphabet in use. Even now many Polish Jews speak Polish with difficulty, and only know this mediæval German dialect and this old Semitic language which is older than many portions of the Old Testament, written as they were when Jews had already abandoned Hebrew for Aramaic; and I am told that two or three generations ago this ignorance of anything but Yiddish or Hebrew was quite common.

"The Jew in Eastern Europe," says an Anglo-Jewish writer, "differs from the other inhabitants not only in religion but also in custom and language. Religion for the British Jews is only a matter of conscience and tradition; it is also for many Jews in Eastern Europe also a question of manners and customs."¹ The many Jews he refers to are the Orthodox Jews, the Chassidim (pious) who constitute roughly (though the exact proportion is disputable) half the East Jews. Nothing like these East Jews exists among the West Jews (or is even known to most of them, I suspect), and the above writer was understating the difference. The Orthodox Jews in Eastern Europe are neither European nor modern. The difference between West Jews and Christians is, or tends to be (as anti-Semites would maintain), a difference of religion only as they belong or claim to belong only to a different denomination. The difference between Chassidim and Christians is not even a difference of religion, or even of nationality, but one of civilisation; they differ to the observation of the most superficial observer, not in doctrine only, but in their way of dressing, of living, of eating. Their dress—to take the distinction that appears at once—is not the same; like their speech, it is mediæval: a long black gabardine, and a peculiar cap. They wear beards and side curls, not because it is a barber's fashion, but for religious reasons, like other Orientals. Their standard of cleanliness in dress and living is low, next to those which Latin Christendom has always had just because its origin is Latin. But, on the other hand, questions of food are to them—as they are to many Eastern castes—questions of religion, and their standard of cleanliness, for example, in the choice and the preparation of meat is very much higher. I select these outward differences because I could observe them myself during the short period I was brought into contact. But I am inclined, from a number of concrete cases that came before the Commission, to agree with the Polish contention that their standards of conduct are also very different, and, consistently with what else I have observed of them, neither European nor modern.

The resemblance between this small primitive Semitic civilisation, so strangely preserved in Europe, and the great Semitic civilisation of Islam, struck me, even though my knowledge of each is inconsiderable, and I would not venture on this observation if it were not confirmed by the authorities—German for the most part, I regret to say—which I read on the subject. The rigid monotheism: the subordinate position in religion of women, evidently in earlier times an absolute exclusion; the absence of distinction between civil and religious authority, the Rabbi supplying both and wielding the greatest power; the

absence of distinction between civil and religious law, the sacred books supplying both; the existence of hereditary tribes of priests called almost by the same name; the similarity of the calendars: the very schools where boys sing-song their lessons from the sacred books and the copious quotations from them in the same sing-song which adorns all grave conversation; these mere outward points of resemblance appear at once. Some of the customs, such as keeping the heads of women shaved and making them wear a wig or ribbons or false hair, appear absolutely savage.

The Chassidim are still the people of the Book, as Mohammed, in the most illuminating phrase ever spoken about the Jews, called them. For a book, or rather a set of books, rule their whole way of life. These are the Torah (what we call the Pentateuch and the Greek-speaking authors of the New Testament correctly translated into Greek as the Law), every word, every dot of which is not only sacred but has an absolute value and must be literally carried out:² on a lower level Nebiim (prophets) and Ketubim (scripture): and then a vast encyclopædic work, the Talmud, written between the second and sixth century of our era, and being, in effect, a record of rabbinical controversies of the previous six centuries. In Torah and Talmud the whole of human knowledge is contained, and outside it there is no human knowledge worth having;³ and piety consists of the knowledge and study of them and the execution of the ritual and customs found or supposed to be found in them. Among these ritual and customary rules the chief are the rules of Kosher food (Kosher being the word our Bible translators translated as "clean"), and the Sabbath.

Torah, Nebiim and Ketubim have been transmitted to Christianity to constitute the Old Testament together with some of their prestige. But the closest devotion to the sacred text and the strictest Sabbatarianism of the strictest Protestants falls far short of the literal, rigorous and elaborately legal observation of the Torah by the Orthodox Jews. I will give two examples, one of a rule of Kosher (clean), drawn from the Pentateuch, and one of the Sabbath rules.

"Thou shalt not seeth the kid in its mother's milk." Therefore no butter can be eaten with meat. Therefore, no butter or milk must stand on the table at the same time as meat. Therefore, to avoid any unintentional breach of the law, each household must possess a separate set of crockery, knives and forks for meat and milk; and Chassidim, even the poorest, do this.

Work is forbidden on the Sabbath. Therefore no fire can be lit or extinguished on it. Therefore nothing should be done which involves the possible lighting or extinguishing of fire. Therefore smoking is forbidden.

These customs, especially as to food and Sabbath, and the ritual rules are not few, but form a large code, the Shulkhan Aruch (Spread Table). The observa-

tion of them makes up the whole life of the Orthodox who care for nothing else, and will suffer anything rather than violate them. I can think of two cases of excesses brought before the Commission, one in which a Jew had been cruelly beaten rather than sign his name on Saturday, writing being, of course, a violation of the Sabbath; the other when a Jew had been badly mishandled by soldiers rather than let them force a piece of meat that was not Kosher through his teeth. Religion and morality consist in the keeping of these ritual and customary rules, and, whatever rationalising and "reformed" modern Jews may say, outside these ritual and customary rules there is no religion and morality for the Orthodox.⁴ The difficulties of life are in avoiding any breach of them; for example, eating an egg with a drop of blood in it. The perplexities of life are in dealing with new cases; for example, is an egg, laid on the Sabbath, Kosher or is it not?

This civilisation of nothing less than half the Polish Jews is not only far from European, but it is also very primitive. It is the civilisation of the age of Ezra and Nehemiah in the fifth century before the Christian era when the books of the Old Testament were edited in their present form, materially unchanged, but only made more rigid and sharp in course of time.⁵ That their spiritual life was restricted to the Torah, the Law and these ritual and customary rules is, of course, the very criticism made of the Jews by the Greek-speaking authors of the New Testament, but I had never understood that reproach until I had seen the system in full swing, now as it was 2,000 years ago. Their very antiquity made the Orthodox Jews the most interesting people in Poland, and their Rabbis were venerable with all the dignity of the East. But they are not civilised in our sense of the word, and it is impossible for Poles to amalgamate with them, and difficult to mix with them, or even to frame common laws for them. Nothing could be more impressive than this strange preservation of this old Semitic culture, which is not only older than European civilisation, but is older than the civilisations, Latin or Byzantine, now long extinguished, from which European civilisation is itself derived. The ridicule and contempt affected for it by Poles, and many Jews who are not Orthodox, is shallow and ignorant. But nothing could be more difficult to associate with than a people who physically, mentally and morally are, and whose whole conception and way of life is so very different.

The presence of such people as the Chassidim in their midst must profoundly affect the minds of ordinary people, especially a devout, rustic people like the Poles. There is a general belief among all classes of Poles that the Jews practice ritual murder; for this there exists not the slightest evidence. It is a myth and an improbable myth. For Orthodox Judaism is not a religion of mysterious rites, less so indeed than Christianity, but a highly positive, defined, legal religion. But I think this myth, strongly and widely believed as it is, the reflection at this antique and oriental religion casts in the minds of ordinary men.

As the Orthodox Jews now are, so were all East Jews till the nineteenth century. Since then this original nucleus, which had kept intact and unchanged for scores of centuries, has shed off, not only the greater part of the West Jews (the White-chapel Jews still refer to Poland in Yiddish as Home), but also the Polish Jews who are not Orthodox. These resemble the West Jews as we know them in England, in having become European (though, of course, the anti-Semitic thesis is that they have not yet and never can become so), and certainly in being, in so far as they are Europeanised, ultra modern; for they have broken with their own traditional past and are not connected with the traditional past of Europeans. The main political party of the Polish Jews who are not Orthodox is known, and for a very good reason, as I shall afterwards explain, as the Nationalist or Zionist Party, and for convenience and to distinguish them from the Orthodox, I shall call them all Nationalists, though all do not belong to this Party. Roughly speaking, and leaving out of account very many shades of difference, the Jews in Poland, who may number, according to the ultimate boundaries assigned to Poland, anything between three and five millions, fall under the head of either Orthodox or Nationalist.

This division and nomenclature omits the very small class of assimilated Jews, who are, however, the highest class of Jews, and who are Polish in the same way as the best kind of Jews in England are English.⁶

The East Jews, Nationalist or Zionist, are very like the West Jews but more strict. Torah and Talmud have both highest position, but not only do they admit other forms of knowledge, but are zealots of education. They respect Kosher and the Sabbath, the twin pillars of Orthodoxy, in various degrees, but to the Orthodox they are mere unbelievers. There is a deep cleavage between the two. For the Nationalists consider themselves the progressive section of Judaism, and to them the Orthodox are backward and obsolete who are ridiculous enough to consider it a mortal sin to write a letter on Saturday morning or to eat a lobster. But the Nationalists gain ground steadily. The services in their synagogues have been "reformed" into being very like services in Protestant churches. Their Rabbis are very highly educated men, resembling German parsons. There is the same difference between an Orthodox Rabbi—who looks like a Rabbi in Rembrandt's etchings—and a "reformed" Rabbi as there is between a devout Neapolitan Monk and a philosophical Unitarian minister.

West Jews play a familiar part in the economic life of the West, nearly always as men of affairs, and almost exclusively as town dwellers.

But in Poland till within the last generation all business men were Jews; the Poles were peasants or landowners, and left commerce to the Jews; even now certainly much more than half, and perhaps as much as three-quarters, of business men are Jews; in big towns (and I take, not statistics, but the evidence most obvious to the eye) the shops at

times seem to be all Jewish. Warsaw, the capital of Poland, is nearly half Jewish. In small towns the preponderance is still greater, and in most towns, big or small, the East Jew is not only the prosperous business man, he is the slum dweller, living in unimaginable squalor and poverty, and occupying almost all the slums. This is far from true of West Jews.

Again, there is a still greater difference. Poland is an agricultural country, but the East Jews, unlike the West Jews, play a large part in its country life. Every estate and every village has its Jew, who holds a sort of hereditary position in them; he markets the produce of the peasants and makes their purchases for them in towns; every Polish landowner or noble had his own Jew, who did all his business for him, managed the commercial part of his estate and found him money. Till modern times it was actual law, and in modern times a rigorous etiquette, that no Polish noble, small or great, might buy and sell. Even if he wanted to buy a horse from a friend, he sent his Jews to do it. Besides this, nearly all the population of nearly all the small country towns is Jewish, corn and leather dealers, storekeepers and pedlars and such like. They are very like—and exposed to the same odium as—the Irish Gombeen man, the village storekeeper who exploited, or was supposed to exploit, the Irish peasant.

These small middlemen play a large part in a country like Poland, whose economic life has been artificially stunted by conquerors. This is the sort of thing that happens, and I quote it as an example to show the nature of their activities. On market days these Jews haunt the roads leading to the market and buy their produce, a goose or a load of vegetables, from peasants and resell it again. This sort of business and nothing else is their only livelihood; they are capitalists trading with a capital of a few shillings. And this class is as common in big towns as in the country.

For both town and country I think it a true generalisation to say that the East Jews are hardly ever producers, but nearly always middlemen. In Lemberg, with a population of nearly 60,000 Jews, three-quarters of these are small shopkeepers, hawkers, pedlars, or engaged in any chance job they can get as intermediaries. Only 25 per cent. are artisans or prosperous business men. There are, of course, in such millions of people, considerable exceptions: Galician woodcutters; in certain places factory workers, though their strict Sabbath rules and the dislike of the Polish workmen keep them away from factories; artisans, too, in cheap furniture, clothes and leather, but inferior in skill to the Poles; and in other trades, too, but always tending to unskilled labour. But the

generalisation is generally true. The Lemberg figures perhaps give the right average in towns; in the country the average would be even higher.

It is instructive to try and imagine what England would be like under the same conditions. Arriving in London, a stranger would find every second or third person a Jew, almost all the poorer quarters and slums Jewish, and thousands of synagogues. Arriving at Newbury he would find practically the whole town Jewish, and nearly every printed inscription in Hebrew characters. Penetrating into Berkshire, he would find the only storekeeper in most small villages a Jew, and small market towns mostly composed of Jewish hovels. Going on to Birmingham, he would find all the factories owned by Jews, and two shops out of three with Jewish names. He would find at least half these Jews almost as different from an Englishman as an Arab, even in their dress and the cut of their hair, and speaking among themselves, not only the dialect of a foreign tongue, but that foreign tongue itself the language of an enemy. This is the picture the Jewry of the East Jews presents, and anti-Semitic dissensions are therefore very different in Poland to what they are in Western Europe. The most resonant anti-Semitic dispute of the last generation was the Dreyfus case. But the small Polish town of Cracow itself contains half as many Jews as in the whole of France put together. If the Jews in France had been so large in number, as different in character, and as peculiar in position as they are in Poland, that famous controversy would have taken a very different shape.

History of the Jews in Poland

A great quarrel has arisen in the present generation between Jews and Poles, each in their millions, and, in trying to understand their present relations, which are very bad, I was compelled to try and understand their past relations which had been very much better, if not excellent. Without, perhaps, the opportunity or the qualifications to do so, I was thus driven to study the past, even at the risk of presenting both the opposite faults of pedantry and ignorance, and all the more so that each side seemed to me to be using against the other historical arguments that were equally, though differently, fallacious.

History may be an academic pursuit, but it ceases to be so where it is used to justify very practical measures. The anti-Semitic party in Poland proposes to expel the Jews because they are strangers uninvited to Poland, who have grown stronger by Poland's weaknesses, and are now too numerous for its safety. The Nationalist Jews want Home Rule in Poland for the Jews because they form a separate nation, whom long oppression has prevented from asserting itself, but which now intends

to come to its own. But I venture to say that these theories are common examples of history being degraded into the handmaiden of politics by men who care very little about the past, and very much about the present.

It could not be, and is not fortuitous, that till the beginning of the nineteenth century the Jews in all parts of the world, from China to Abyssinia, should exist only in clusters, and in such great masses in the region between the Baltic and the Black Sea, where nine-tenths of the Jews in the world were to be found. Polish Jewry was, in effect, Jewry till then.

In the eighth and ninth centuries there was a great kingdom of Tartars to the north of the Black Sea—called the Chazars—of which a large, and that the upper portion, were converted to Judaism. Tartars are still the only people who show any inclination for conversion to Orthodox Judaism, and the Russian Church had to take special measures to prevent these changes.⁷ The chazars were broken by the Slavs after two centuries and driven westwards. But they survive in a Jewish sect, who were recognised as such by the Russian Government, and excepted from their measures of persecution—the Charaites—who still celebrate their synagogue service in Tartar. Obscure as these origins are, there is no doubt, from the evidence of coins, that Jewish communities existed in Poland before either St. Cyril brought Byzantine or St. Adalbert Latin civilisation to the Slavs by converting them to Christianity.

This was the Jewish stream from the East. Another came from the West, when Western Christendom, during that long offensive against Islam and heathendom known as the Crusades, expelled the Jews who seemed to represent the very forces they were attacking, those from the Rhine, where the earliest and thickest settlements of these wandering Semitic merchants existed, joined their co-religionists further east and these adopted the German language, Judisch or Yiddish, of the newcomers. Both streams had mixed largely with the Teutonic and Slav races.

Therefore the Jews in Poland have been settled there between 800 and 1,000 years. Except for the purpose of proving a point, they cannot be called strangers there, nor can the Slavs be considered very much more native than they.

From the documents of the thirteenth century,⁸ which do not create new but register existing conditions, they are seen at their first real appearance as a semi-autonomous corporation or community, for which it is hard to find a name in English, for the thing itself has never existed in England, where the State, in the shape of the Crown, so early crushed out all independent political organisations, and gathered all public power to itself. But, of course, such bodies are common all over central Europe, and the Jewish community had the same sort of independence as, for example, the free city of Hamburg. Their position was exactly the opposite of the English Jews, who were a mere sponge

in the hands of our kings to be squeezed for money whenever the sponge was full. At their very earliest appearance they are seen grouped around their synagogues and rabbis, who exercise civil and religious authority, with a personal law of their own, independent courts of their own, complete freedom to travel and special protection in so doing, and only a nominal dependence on the king. Even in the twelfth century they are evidently an independent political organism in mediæval Poland, and as Poland remained mediæval till it perished, and indeed perished just because it remained mediæval, next to neighbours who were not, so the mediæval organisation of the Jews lasted to the end. The Jews were ruled by their commissioners (*waadim*), and the Polish kings dealt only with those commissioners and not directly with the individual Jews. Owing to a very uncritical view of the document known as the Privilege of Casimir the Great, which is a Magna Charta of the Jews, it is a favourite Polish view that the Jews were admitted to Poland by the mistaken generosity of the Polish kings and the tolerance of the generous people. This is very like saying that the Dukedom of Bavaria grew by the generosity of the German emperors and the tolerance of the German people. These smaller political organisms grew with the greater organism that contained them and in mediæval life were neither junior in origin nor subordinate in right.

In its desperate efforts to centralise and unify itself so as to resist its powerfully centralised neighbors in the eighteenth century, this independence was suppressed for a few years before the Russian flood engulfed both Jews and Poles. But the Prussian administrators found in 1732 this whole mediæval system still working when they took possession after the Partition.

Economically, the Jews appear at the very outset as dealers not as producers, nor even as artisans, and chiefly dealers in money; in course of time the whole business and commerce of Poland became theirs, and they did nothing else. The Poles were knights and ploughmen who fought and tilled, and the merchants were Jews, and this monopoly lasted till the present generation. The Jews grew steadily in number because their standard of living was, and is, much lower than that of the Poles; even now the Chassidim, very often also those of considerable means, live in the poorest way and multiply as rapidly as a people with a lower standard always do.

Socially they are, in Polish history, a despised caste, exercising a despised occupation, trade. There was also the closest alliance between them and the innumerable nobility, great and small, who ruled Poland till the end. "Every noble has his Jew" was the Polish saying, and if he did spit in the face of his Jew when drunk, the Jew did all the business. This position of hereditary "body Jew" as estate business manager of every Polish landowner lasted till the present generation. I am informed that in

Polish literature the Jew appears as part of the Polish people, a very inferior branch of it, it is true, but still as part of it.

Mediæval men, seeing this independence, this prosperity, and these numbers, called Poland the Paradise of the Jews.

It is an explanation often given of what may be called according to the point of view, the idiosyncrasies or defects of the Jews, that they have been an oppressed and persecuted people. This is an idea so charitable and humane that I should like to think it, not only of the Jews, but of every other people. It has every merit as a theory except that of being true. When one thinks of what happened to the other "racial, religious, and linguistic minorities" of Europe in modern times, say, the French Protestants or the Irish Catholics, to take the first of numberless examples that come to hand, the Jew appears not as the most persecuted, but as the most favoured, people of Europe. This mediæval autonomy, enduring as it did through modern times because it happened to be placed in a country that always remained mediæval, was the shell within which the Orthodox Jews (and all Jews were Orthodox till the nineteenth century) preserved their ancient and peculiar civilisation untouched by the flow and change of the world until the nineteenth century. And this is why they are so different, even now, to the Poles. And this is why it is so difficult for Poles and Jews to agree and become one people now. It is not the bad luck of the Jews that has prevented them "developing," as they call it; it is their singular good fortune in the past because they never had, to return to my two chance examples, any St. Bartholomews, Repeals of the Edict of Nantes, Captures of Drogheda, or Irish Penal Laws.

Even at present, in the twentieth century, the remoteness of the life of the Orthodox Jews from European life and their separateness struck me again and again in the evidence that came before the Commission. I will give one of the most striking examples.

It is impossible to mix with Europeans without at least knowing their calendar, the names of months, and of the days of the week, or to mix much with Europeans without using it to mark dates. Conversely, anyone who does not, and cannot use this calendar to mark dates, and is hardly aware of it, must have lived apart from European life.

A poor but worthy Jewish Rabbi from a townlet in very desert Eastern territories came before the Commission with complaints. On cross-examining him as to dates, I found he only used, and only knew, the old Semitic calendar of the Jews, and could not reckon time in any other. His little community only used, and could only use, the Hebrew months and year. He knew no other.

The Jews in the Nineteenth Century

The partition of Poland broke into and broke up this curious Jewish life. In the nineteenth century the original mass of Orthodox Jewry threw off body after body, either as emigrants who constitute most of the West Jews on both sides of the Atlantic, or the East Jews, whom I have called for convenience National-

ists or Zionists. These new bodies took to living, feeling, and thinking as Europeans. (Though, of course, the foundation of the anti-Semitic view is that they never can; and that under the Jew you always find the Oriental.) This change shows itself at once in many ways. For example, in the part played (for good or for bad) in every sphere of life in the last century, where before that time Jews had never been heard of. Again, the Hebrew language then began to reflect the change; before that it had been used for merely religious purposes, controversies on Torah and Talmud as to how many brazen layers there were in Solomon's Temple, or whether the fat in an animal's tail is Kosher or not. But from the beginning of the nineteenth century it began to be used for every purpose, literary or scientific. Again, a religious change also set in; synagogue services began to be "reformed," that is, assimilated to Christian services, till, for example, Jewish Rabbis in England dress like Anglican clergymen and, with a singular want of humour, even cease to be called Rabbis, but call themselves chaplains.

Political ideas also changed, or rather political ideas entered the heads of Jews for the first time. For even now Orthodox Jews care little for political questions; not much as to who rules them, nor very much how they are ruled, so long as their religious practices are untouched. It was less with complaints about pogroms and excesses that the Orthodox leaders came before the Commission than with complaints about Sunday closing, which discourages a strict observance of the Sabbath.

But the strongest political idea of any, so strong that it seems natural, nationality, and its corollaries, like patriotism, take a different form in East and West Jews. If an English Jew is asked "Are you an Englishman?" he answers "Yes"; Judaism is to him a religion only. If a Polish Jew (or almost any Polish Jew) is asked "Are you a Pole?" he answers "No; I am of Jewish nationality." So it is that the anti-Semitic disputes in Eastern Europe are the reverse of those in Western Europe. For example, Dreyfus was an officer who said he was as French as any Frenchman (it was his opponents who denied he ever could be). At present the Polish Government says it will admit Jews as field officers if they will sign a declaration that they are of Polish nationality. This they refuse to do.

Various causes have contributed to make this difference, which is fundamental and deserving of the fullest analysis. French, English, and American Jews are, or protest they are, French, English, or American (100 per cent. American, as they say). Polish Jews protest they are not Poles; they are only Jews, but Polish subjects.

This is not only a legal point; the legal attitude expresses the real attitude. I am not sure whether I have been able entirely to understand why the evolution of these Europeanised Jews has been different in East and West, but some of the causes are apparent.

The East Jews have more cohesion, both from within and without. They are more numerous and more difficult to transform. Even where West Jews form a mass, as in New York, they have come in gradually, and been more fully influenced. Because East Jews are more numerous, they are more pious, and therefore more different; no man who has to earn his living, least of all a poor emigrant, can keep Jewish ritual rules, Sabbath and Kosher, or wear the orthodox dress unless others do. From without, Polish society (in the wide, not the narrow sense) is more exclusive because it has century-old traditions of exclusion. The Jews to them are still what the native is to the Anglo-Indian. Western European societies, who have only known the Jews in any considerable number for about a century, have not, or only again in a relatively slight degree. If the upper half of the Eastern Jews is European, the lower half, the Chassidim, is not, and this lower half haunts the upper half, and by the Poles the two halves are naturally identified. West Jews do not drag this terrific tail after them. No West Jew I have ever met is like the Orthodox East Jew, or even has any idea that such people exist; otherwise, they would be less surprised at the prejudice of the Poles.

Besides these particular, there are more general, profounder causes. When orientals in a mass, both distinct and coherent, get European ideas, such as nationality, patriotism, social equality, liberty, and self-government, they begin to think they are a nation to whom their patriotism is due, and conversely that it is not due to the Europeans from whom they obtained their ideas; that they are equal to these Europeans, and that being treated as an inferior caste is unjust; that if they have the right to be free and govern themselves, then they will not be governed by men who are not of their race, language, and religion. So the very ideas benevolently sown by Europeans spring up again in a hostile, armed, and formidable shape. More and more during the nineteenth century the Jews had become not only a separate body, as in the previous ages, but a body politically claiming an independence as much as the Poles, and socially complete equality. Finally, during the last few years, these feelings crystallised into the formation of the Nationalist or Zionist party, which is the strongest party among the Europeanised Jews, all of whom, for convenience, I have called Nationalists. They want Home Rule, independence in Poland, and a national home in Palestine.

Our Eastern empire offers the clearest analogies. It is not fortuitous that the very same word "Nationalists" is adopted both in India and Egypt by orientals who want self-government or independence from us. There also it is those members of Eastern races who have been Europeanised who get European ideas, equality of man, self-government, and, deeper still, patriotism and love of country, and their converse, the desire of independence from the foreigner. The very ideas that Europeans disseminate to any oriental people may turn against them, and a partially-Anglicised Egypt rises against the rulers its oriental fathers welcomed. So it is with the Polish Jews.

It is sometimes said assimilation will cure

this Polish-Jewish quarrel. Full assimilation will, in the sense of the assimilated Jews, a very small number who are completely Polish, and hardly Jewish, even in religion; but what may be called the semi-assimilation of the larger masses of East Jews is the very cause of the evil. When the Orthodox Jew puts aside his black cap and begins to wear a European bowler on the top of his head, there comes inside his head new European ideas, that he wants a country of his own, made of men of his own race, religion, and language, and not of Poles; and that he will not be treated as a native, an inferior race. Why should he, if his new lesson is that all men are equal?

But the Poles are more unfortunate than we. There is no abstract European, there are only particular nations. The Nationalists of our Eastern Empire are at least only Anglicised: Sir Rabindranath Tagore denounces English culture only in the most exquisite English; the very act of repudiation is a homage to what he repudiates. But Jews in Poland have not only been Polonised, they have been Russified and Germanised. So that the Jews appear to the Poles as the representatives of their oppressors.

For education is, of course, the easiest road to European civilisation, and it is a road that the Jews follow with a passionate eagerness. For even at the lowest level, even the Orthodox are educated; otherwise they cannot be Orthodox, the ideal of piety being, not an ideal of conduct, as, for example, asceticism, but an ideal of erudition, knowledge of Torah and Talmud. They are the people of the Book. All Jews can, and must, read and write and have been an educated people (though educated, perhaps, in what was not worth knowing) for scores of centuries. A very large percentage of Poles is illiterate. The neat, pretty house of the Polish farmer is bookless; the village Jew lives in barbarous filth, but he has his Hebrew books to read as much as he can, and the Chassidim saint is the man who pores over them all day while his wife attends to the shop. When the Jew is Europeanised he transfers the allegiance he had to Torah and Talmud over to educational text books and becomes the fanatic of education. This paradox, that while an inferior culture (I deprecate all intention of offence), they are an educated people, explains:—

Firstly, why Jews were largely Russianised. In Russian Poland Russian was taught in schools, not Polish. Even when a Jew went to a Polish school he only learnt Russian. There are many Jews in Poland who know three languages, Hebrew, Yiddish and Russian, but no Polish.

Secondly, why the Jews, especially the wealthier, are still more Germanised. Russian Poland had an inefficient and defective educational system. Tsarism being opposed to all education, especially to that of Jews. Germany, next door,

offered the Jews, if not the best system in the world, the best at the price. As Yiddish is a German jargon, it was easy to take advantage of it, and all Jews who could afford it have sent their children there for the last century. The result is that the East Jews are the most Germanised—though not pro-German—society I have ever met outside Germany, and the Poles say “Once a Jew, always a German.”

Thirdly, why the Jews play so large a part in Bolshevism. Bolshevism requires a vast administration and propaganda, which in turn require that men shall at least be able to read and write. But in the proletariat of Eastern Europe only the Jews possess these accomplishments, and therefore the administrators and propagandists of Bolshevism must necessarily be Jews. So much so that Bolshevism appears at times to be almost purely a Jewish movement. But the Commission had the opportunity of studying it very close at hand on the Eastern frontier, and in that part of the world at least this was certainly not the case.

The Nationalist movement, though the full and conscious expression of this movement as a party programme is quite late, is one great root of the dispute between the Jews and the Poles. The other great root was that not only have the Jews grown modern in the nineteenth century, but the Poles have too. Their social life was once as mediæval as their political life. Just as their ancestors had been knights and ploughmen, they remained landed proprietors and peasants. But towards the end of the nineteenth century—especially in Russian and Prussian Poland, where they were excluded from all offices—they took to business and began to trench upon the Jewish monopoly. This is the other great root of the dispute. This struck the Jews upon their sensitive nerve, their love of money aggravated by centuries of exclusive enjoyment, just as the Jewish Nationalist movement struck the Poles upon their sensitive nerve, national and racial pride, exasperated by a century of oppression. This economic change was fiercely resented by the Jews, and very often by criminal means such as arson. The co-operative Polish societies in the country which displaced the local Jewish dealers were often attacked; one of the Jewish Nationalist leaders bitterly denounced the Poles to the Commission, because, as he said, a generation ago the Poles had none of the business of their own country, but now they had at least twenty per cent. So much does the past rule the present; Jews and Poles, modern though they may be, consider their old privileges as natural rights. The Jew claims a right to all the profits, and the Pole to kick the Jew whenever he feels the inclination.

The Feud Between the Jews and the Poles

Though the Tsarist policy, in Poland as elsewhere, was to set one race against another, during the nineteenth century their relations were not strained, and the Jews fought with the Poles in the last insurrection of 1863. It was only twenty years ago that the quarrel began and the excesses brought to the notice

of the Commission flow from this quarrel. As soon as the two races were released from the pressure of a foreign conqueror at the Armistice the Poles flew at the Jews.

The Tsarist Government drove the Jews out of Russia and tried to make “one great ghetto of Poland.” The Russian Jews were particularly rich, “the Litwaki” as they are called, and much more enterprising and intelligent than the Polish Jews. The Tsarist Government in pursuance of its invariable policy, favoured the same Jews in Poland whom it persecuted in Russia. For example, Jews were forbidden to own rural land in Russia; but in Poland, the Russian banks lent them money on extravagantly favourable terms so that real estate in Warsaw is largely Jewish. The Litwaki openly professed themselves the partisans of conquering Russia deliberately talked Russian, and still do to Poles, most offensively I thought; and organised the Polish Jews—who at first were adverse to them—as a separate body. The beginning of the movement is clearly marked by the foundation of the Jewish press, for a new press means a new point of view. This press set to work openly to fight against Polish autonomy.

It is easy enough—after the event—to blame the Jews for being on the Russian side. But why should they not have been? The Polish Jews are not Poles; they are Jews. The Peace Conference may make them Poles in 1919; but the Congress of Vienna in 1815 made them Russians. It is a pity they cannot always switch from one to the other to suit the decisions of statesmen, and after being good Russians for the nineteenth, become good Poles for the twentieth century, but it is excusable.

The attachment of a great number of Jews in Poland to Russia is sincere, no less than the attachment of many to the soil of Poland, where they can trace their descent for centuries. But Russia is the promised land for most Jews; their material home as much as Germany is their spiritual home. It is a rich land where wealth can be reaped in sheaves without a struggle, instead of a poor land like Poland where it can only be gleaned with difficulty. It is a land where the Government may be hostile, but the people are not unfriendly. If Russia is opened to the Jews, the Polish Jewish question may solve itself; the Jews who were pumped into Poland by the Tsarist Government will stream back there and now sweep along with them very many of the Polish Jews.

The Poles answered this Russian movement by the anti-Semitic movement, organised by Mr. Roman Dmowski. The Polish press became anti-Semitic and attacked the Jews, and has continued to do so with incredible violence. The worst anti-Semitic agitation, say, for example, a section of the French press during the Dreyfus case, is a breath next to this storm, which blows and rages uninterruptedly and expresses as much as it excites the hatred of the Poles. All evil, from the loss of Danzig to the large blue flies in the butchers's shops, comes from Jews, and

all Jews are evil, usurers, bloodsuckers, corruptors, traitors, swindlers, liars, profiteers, ritual murderers, blackmailers, assassins and Bolsheviks. Variations on these themes crash every day from the whole orchestra of the Polish press. The Commission had some experience of it in the bucketful of abuse that was poured on Sir Stuart Samuel as a Jew, and which he received with perfect equanimity.

Meanwhile the separatism of the Jews—not the Orthodox, who have never cared at all about politics—took shape in the formation of the Zionist or Nationalist Jewish Party, which includes the majority of the Europeanised Jews.

At present the doctrine of the Zionists or Nationalists (the names are interchangeable) is "We Jews have race, religion and language (though which language. Yiddish or Hebrew, we are not quite sure) therefore we are a nation. All we need is a country. Our country is Palestine and until we can have it as a national home we want to be organised as a nation in Poland. Being tolerant and up to date Jews can be strict or lax, as they please, and, unlike the Orthodox, we cannot think it a sin to write a letter on the Sabbath or to eat lobster at lunch." Their party programme in Poland is to have all Jews on a separate register. The Jews thus registered are to elect a representative body of Jews, with extensive powers of legislation and taxation; e.g., it could tax for purposes of emigration. This body to be handed over by the Polish State, a proportionate amount of money to spend on Jewish charitable and financial institutions. Besides this separate organisation, a number of seats proportionate to their numbers to be set aside in every local and in the national legislature. A sixth or a seventh of the Polish Diet to be occupied only by Jews to be elected only by Jews. Some Jews also demand separate law courts, or at least the right to use Yiddish as well as Polish in legal proceedings. This is the practical programme, but the ambitions of the advanced section⁹ is the national personal autonomy granted in the Ukraine by one of the ephemeral governments of the Ukraine, the Ukrainian Central Rada, on 9th January, 1918, and called the Statute of National Personal Autonomy, of which I have a copy. It organises the Jews as a nation with full sovereign powers; the Ukrainian banknotes were printed in Yiddish as well as in Ukrainian.

If the Jews in England—after multiplying their numbers by twenty or thirty—demanded that the Jewish Board of Guardians should have extensive powers, including the right to tax for purposes of emigration, and that a separate number of seats should be set aside in the London County Council, the Manchester Town Council, the House of Commons, and the House of Lords, to be occupied only by Jews chosen by Jews; that the President of the Board of Education should hand over yearly to the Jews sums proportionate to their numbers; if some were to demand the right to have separate Jewish law courts, or at least to be allowed to use Yiddish as well as English in the King's Bench and Chancery Division; if the most advanced even looked forward to a time when Bank of England notes were to be printed in Yiddish as well as in English, then they might well

find public opinion, even in England, less well disposed to them. If West Jews are more welcome than East Jews in the countries where they find themselves, they also have smaller pretensions.

In 1912 the dispute between Poles and Jews, assiduously encouraged by the Tsarist authorities, came to an issue in the Duma elections. The Warsaw Jews, by a neat but perfectly legitimate manœuvre, got control of the elections, and, with sardonic humor, returned to the Duma a member of such a kind that whenever the representative of the capital of Poland got on his feet the Duma roared with laughter. The exasperated Poles retorted with a national boycott on business with the Jews. It was the only way the Poles, as a subject race, could attack another subject race, the Jews. The Polish co-operative societies in the country had already hit the Jewish country dealers hard; another motive was now added for supporting and extending them. In town every effort—but with little success—was made to put Jewish shops and merchants out of business. For example, a Jewish chemist would find his customers hooted by small crowds outside his shop, or his customers would find that small notices had been pinned to their clothes as friends of the Jews. His wholesale firm would tell him that Polish physicians had written threatening not to recommend the products of their firm if they supplied him with goods. Polish newspapers published the names of those who sold land to Jews, and they were ostracised. A sort of boycott still continues, and undoubted instances were laid before the Commission. But now the Poles are in power they have other arms to attack them with, and therefore rely less or little on the boycott as it was.

But the high day and triumph of the Jews was during the German occupation. The Jews in Poland are deeply Germanised, and German carries you over Poland because Jews are everywhere. So the Germans found everywhere people who knew their language and could work for them. It was with Jews that the Germans set up their organisation to squeeze and drain Poland—Poles and Jews included—of everything it had; it was in concert with Jews that German officials and officers towards the end carried on business all over the country. In every department and region they were the instruments of the Germans, and poor Jews grew rich and lordly as the servants of the masters. But though Germanised, the accusations of the Poles that the Jews are devoted to Germany is unfounded—just as unfounded as the charge, so often made in the English press by Poles, that all the troubles between them and the Jews are tricks and inventions of the Germans. They have no more loyalty to Germany—the home of anti-Semitism—than to Poland. The East Jews are Jews and only Jews. But this is too fine a distinction for the ordinary Pole, who looks on all Jews as the allies of his worst enemy—"once a Jew, always a German." But the Jewish political leaders never went to Berlin to pay their court to the Kaiser like so many Polish party leaders and

grandees, lay and clerical. The Jews, and especially those to whom it was so profitable, naturally welcomed the arrival of the Germans, and at the Armistice there were Jewish demonstrations in favour of the Germans and against the "Polish goose," as they termed the newly-arisen Polish White Eagle. The very day the German garrison was disarmed, in November 1918, the excesses against the Jews began all over Warsaw; everywhere assaults on them took place.

It had seemed certain that one of two, the German or the Russian Empire, must win, and that the Jews, who had their money on both, were safe; but the despised Poland came in first. Even now the Jews can hardly believe in its resurrection, and one of them told me it still seemed to him a dream.

The Excesses of the Last Year

The events of the last twenty years had brought the Poles to look upon the Jews as national enemies, with an abhorrence almost as furious as we ever looked upon the Germans during the war. In November, 1918, the Poles became independent again, but independent without a government, which still had to be created. Given a hated minority, and given an absence of government, could it be otherwise than that such a minority should suffer? The Jews have suffered very very much during the last year, and unfortunately there is no exact measure of suffering. However, I estimate that not more than 200 or 300 have been unjustly killed. One would be too many, but, taking these casualties as a standard with which to measure the excesses committed against them, I am more astonished at their smallness than their greatness.

At least a hundred times as many have been slaughtered during the same period in the Ukraine, and perhaps quite as many in Hungary or Czecho-Slovakia. I think the explanation of this smallness is to be found in the explanation of an undoubted and paradoxical fact which strikes everyone.

The worst offenders are soldiers, and the worst soldiers in this respect are those of General Haller's army, which was largely recruited in America, and next to them the Posnanians or German Poles. So the real Polish soldier is the least guilty, and the most are the soldiers who come from the educated, progressive countries, especially America, which has been the first to protest against these excesses.

Poland is a peasant country, and the Polish soldier is a peasant in uniform; these peasants are too illiterate to be touched very deeply by anti-Semitism, and have lived too long with the Jews not to know him quite well and that he is not always what he is now said to be. But American and German Poles, coming into this atmosphere of hatred, are inflamed by it. They take the rhetoric as the exact truth. For them the Jew is what they are told he is.

Herein, I think, lies the explanation of why the excesses have been so small. In a nation of peasants, the peasants (though by no means attached to the Jews) are not really hostile. What the Polish peasant soldier likes is taking from the Jew the money or property which the Jew has so long extracted from him. Hustling a Jew at a railway station means going through his pockets. Nowhere except, owing to special causes, in Galicia, have there been peasant risings against the Jews. In Ukraine there were, and thousands have been massacred. This accounts for the small number of deaths in Poland.

The violent excesses are the work of towns, but chiefly of soldiers. The leader of the Jewish Party in the Diet distinguishes between "pogroms and excesses in many cities and towns of the eastern territories occupied by the Polish army," and those "that have occurred in a weaker form in Poland, but not less insulting to Jewish national and human honour."¹⁰ This is a convenient division. One category is the alleged pogroms at Lemberg, Pinsk, Minsk, Lida, Vilna, and Cracow, and the other category the general attacks on the Jews. It is also convenient to examine the second category first.

From November, 1918, onwards for many months there was no real Government in Poland; even old-fashioned crimes that have died out, like highway robbery and outlaw bands, appeared again, and the shadowy Government that existed was far too busy with the ideals of democracy to bother with them. One force there was in Poland, the army, but that was a spontaneous creation anterior to the existence of government. It sprang, so to speak, from the soil of what had always been a warrior nation, and was, and is still, the most anti-Semitic body in Poland.

The army is anti-Semitic:—

Firstly, because the Jews evade military service; by bribery, desertion, or some other device they escape all service at the front. The formation of an army is the great achievement of Poland's first year, for the Poles have great martial and patriotic traditions, and their army has formed and maintained itself under conditions that would have dissolved most others. The Jews in Poland have little but commercial traditions, and are not Poles. The Polish Tommy, however, who has to stick it at the front without food or clothes, in the torturing cold of the Russian winter, is not likely to enter into these philosophical considerations. All he knows is that the Jew gets off.

Secondly: the officers are drawn from the most anti-Semitic class, the nobles and the intelligentsia.

Thirdly: Anti-Semitism is covertly but assiduously encouraged as a protection against Bolshevism.

The connection between Jews and Bolshevism is a highly controversial topic. The Commission had however the opportunity of studying it at first hand in the Eastern territories which had been in the hands of the Bolsheviks for a few months. There the administration and propaganda, for reasons I have already mentioned, was largely Jewish; but it was also, and especially its leaders, Polish. The attractions of Bolshevism are little theoretical.

Bolshevism spells business for poor Jews; innumerable posts in a huge administration; endless regulations, therefore endless jobbery; big risks, for the Bolsheviks punish heavily, every offence being treated as a form of treason; but big profits. The rich bourgeois Jew also manages to get on with it in his own way, "Jüdische Weise" as the Jews call bribery. Many Jews who are by no means poor, try at the present time to escape into Russia, so fine are the business prospects. Such a desirable state of things must naturally have charms for the Jews in Poland, and in spite of repeated and constant accusations, the Jewish political leaders have never publicly repudiated Bolshevism, from which I conclude that they must have many sympathisers with Bolshevism among their followers. But undoubtedly the Poles also take a large part in the movement. It is difficult to form exact estimates, and I am not certain of my conclusions. But while the Commission was in Warsaw, a ready-made Bolshevik Government, prepared to begin operations, was arrested there. Of the nine members, five were Polish, one Russian, and three Jewish. I thought this might perhaps furnish the basis of a calculation. The Jews are not more than one-sixth of the population, but had one-third of this ready-made Government. That was twice their fair share, and I think this is generally their share of Bolshevism.

But whatever the truth is (and I am far from certain I have reached it), the average Pole and especially the army, looks on Bolshevism as an entirely Jewish invention and affair. The soldiers themselves on the Bolshevik front make Jews taste the food Jews set before them before daring to eat it, for fear of poison. They therefore close their ears to the Bolshevik agitator, as either a Jew or an emissary of the Jews, and the anti-Semitic leaders believe that anti-Semitism has been the shield of Poland against Bolshevism. It is certainly remarkable that Poland is the country where general conditions favour Bolshevism most, and where it has succeeded least. The officers naturally encourage these sentiments, for the murder of officers is usually one of the first measures of Bolshevism.

The use made of anti-Semitism was very interesting in an alleged pogrom of Jews at Lodz brought to our notice soon after our arrival. On receiving complaints, very exaggerated complaints, of very horrible doings we went ourselves to Lodz and found the course of events was something like this. A very serious unemployment riot, instigated by Russian Bolshevik emissaries, had taken place; in a conflict between the police and the rioters, the police had been defeated and lost as many as six killed. The authorities had felt uncertain of the military, and had not dared to use them. In this difficulty rumours were spread in barracks that the riot was a Jewish one, though in fact it had been no more Jewish than Christian, with the result that in the evening a great

many assaults on Jews by soldiers took place in the Jewish quarter. The anti-Semitic rumor turned the balance.

This imputation or suspicion of Bolshevism, whether true or not, weighs heavily on the Jews; it is a justification or pretext for every violence and every exaction, house-searching or arrest or imprisonment, and was the answer, genuine or fictitious, to the majority of complaints made to us.

Sweeping generalisations are easily exceptional, but they are unavoidable, and I think it a true one to say of this category of excesses:—

Firstly: that the excesses have mostly come from the soldiers or the gendarmerie; roughs and civilian crowds join in, and educated Poles look on and applaud. I saw myself a Jew arrested and a whole crowd of soldiers and boys start kicking and cuffing him. This incident, I think, evidently disclosed the principle: if anyone lays hands on a Jew—legally or illegally—everyone else will willingly assist or connive.

Secondly: that they have steadily diminished; from November to April was the worst period, but in spite of great improvement they are still not uncommon.

From November 1918 to April 1919, one might almost say that the Jews were outlawed, if there had been much law. But there was not much law for anyone, and for the Jews only very much less than for anyone else.

These excesses were what we call assaults and batteries. They would range from rough horse-play, especially on railroads and stations, to blows and sometimes very severe beatings. Sometimes, of course, the most violent assaults, as throwing a Jew out of a moving train, would lead to death. In out of the way places there must have been some murders, and in some cases outrages on women and murders. For this first period it is difficult to judge; though rare, there were certainly some crimes of this sort.

Overcrowded trains and soldiers on leave travelling were the most ordinary occasions, but the same sort of thing took place extensively in the streets on very slight pretexts. Beard cutting was an almost universal sport and still goes on largely, though this is often treated as mere rough fun. But the long beard worn by the Orthodox Jew, though ridiculous to others, has a semi-religious meaning to him and is worn in accordance with Talmudic precepts, and his religious convictions are entitled to respect as much as those of anyone else.

The assaults were accompanied by a great deal of pilfering, robbery and petty blackmail: from frightening an elderly Jew at a railway station into emptying his pockets, to entering Jewish shops and pillaging them. I am inclined to look on this as the main motive.

In the military zone all these evils existed in a far worse form. In big towns, mostly Jewish, the troops were more careful. Even there, in capitals like Lemberg, pillaging and blackmailing went on incessantly. But in out of the way places, chiefly under the pretext of forced labour, they very often reduced the Jews to a state of slavery. Conditions varied with the temper of the officers.

The Polish army has been quite unprovided; even now they have not got great-coats for the winter, and it is common enough for men to desert, steal some clothes and join again. They have been compelled to help themselves from everyone, and naturally they have done so from the Jews more than from anyone else. The Polish Tommy looks on plunder as part of the routine of military life. They are very fond of being photographed with a glass of wine in one hand next to a table loaded with plundered rouble notes. The Mission has several of these photographs; honest yokel faces, quite unconscious of wrong-doing.

It is very difficult to come to an exact and general statement. Perhaps during this period this one would be true on one side:—

Polish soldiers are compelled by necessity to fall into bad habits at the front. All troops, even those with good habits, are difficult to keep in order when away from the front. Polish troops are proportionately difficult to keep in order when away from the front. In both places the Jews suffered more if not exclusively.

They suffered still more in Russian Poland at the hands of the gendarmerie, the military police, very underpaid and armed with great powers. A British Police Mission is at present in Warsaw advising the Polish Government; this is an admission that the condition of the police was not satisfactory. But I say very deliberately, and relying on Polish, not Jewish evidence, that the conduct of the gendarmerie was such that in many parts of Poland they exercised a kind of brigandage. The best that can be said of them is that, as brigands, they endured no competition, and showed very great courage and skill in keeping order, especially against the Bolshevik agitators, who infested Poland, and who were very determined and bold. The whole population suffered from the gendarmerie, and they treated the Jews as prey who must always pay up, on every possible pretext, and who were lucky to escape without a broken head. Some, but not many, deaths must be put to their account.

In the case of civilians, soldiers, and gendarmerie it was the habit of the Poles to insult Jews of every kind, including perfectly innocent Jewish ladies, in public places. This fashion was that of the Polish ladies and gentlemen as it was of the common people.

During this first period the authorities, such as they were, exerted themselves but little. The great complaint of the Jews is not so much what was inflicted on them as the constant consciousness that they had no legal protection.

During the second period, from April onwards, the condition of the Jews has steadily and rapidly improved. The state of affairs I have described exists in a very diminished degree at present: to what extent it is very difficult to determine exactly. Hearing complaints is very like having a bell rung within an inch of one's ear: it becomes difficult to determine how great the sound really is. In what was Russian Poland the Jews have legal protection, but not to the extent to which they are naturally entitled or to which the treaty creating Poland gives them. Some very grave—but

quite rare—failures of justice (what, in effect, were unpunished murder or attempted murder) were brought to the notice of the Commission. The "prejudice," as English lawyers say, is always very strong against the Jews. In criminal and civil justice, in the exercise of any authority whatever, the law, when in their favour, is enforced reluctantly and slackly, and very often not at all; when it is against them, it is enforced promptly and rigorously. The higher you go the better is the treatment, and the lower you go, the worse is the treatment. They are not treated fairly, even in the matter of their legal rights; but they are far from persecuted. Neither have they the full police protection to which they are entitled. I limit these remarks to Russian Poland. Even now, if I were an Orthodox Jew, long-bearded and black-coated, and found myself in the same train as a party of soldiers, I should travel—as even the most reverend orthodox Rabbis do—under the seat.

The authorities still have the greatest difficulty in enforcing order in all cases, so much does the anarchy of the last few years still prevail. At Brest-Litovsk no less than three companies armed with ball cartridge, and not less than six machine guns, surrounded our train to arrest two soldiers who had stolen two fur coats. A non-commissioned officer and a few men could do it elsewhere.

The instructions given to the Commission order it to adjudicate on the degree of responsibility attaching to the Polish Government for these excesses, and on this point the instructions are peremptory.

The responsibility of the Government may be fixed by these considerations.

In what was Austrian Poland, where the Poles have long had a sort of autonomy under the Hapsburgs, and where the administration thus built up under excellent traditions exists, few complaints of excesses at the present time have reached us. The complaints all come from Russian Poland, where the Poles were always excluded from government and where an administration was built up under the Tsarist traditions. It is either with inexperienced Poles or Poles trained in these Tsarist conditions that the present Government has to work. Therefore the first consideration is that it has not had the proper instruments.

Poland as yet has got no frontiers, no single system of currency, or law, hardly any system of taxation, and though ruined by five years' warfare on its territory, has to carry on an onerous war. The Government has far greater problems than the Jewish problem, and has never really grappled with it. The second consideration is that it has hardly had the opportunity.

The Government has inflicted a good deal, though an insufficient amount, of punishment; these punishments it has never published, for fear of Polish public opinion. This, I think, discloses its real attitude. It

would like to stop these disorders, but it runs the risk of being upset if it does. Any measure that can be construed into favoring the Jews exposes it to attack, and the Jews could never have been completely defended without special measures. Poland has been endowed with the infallible blessings of democratic institutions, and, as long as it possesses them, its Government cannot be required openly to defy the will of the Polish people; indeed, it would violate the very first principle of its constitution if it did. The third consideration, therefore, is that the Government has hardly had the power.

The responsibility for the excesses against the Jews falls most of all on the Polish intelligentsia, the educated, well-to-do class; then next, but less, on the masses. But last of all on the Government, which, since the spring, has with earnest, though insufficient, exertions tried to stop these excesses.

The Alleged Pogroms

The second category of excesses are the alleged pogroms at Lemberg, Pinsk, Lida, Vilna, and Cracow. The account I read of these seemed to be, after enquiring into them, mixtures of rhetoric and evidence, so perhaps the best method is to make a bare finding of fact.

Lemberg

In the beginning of November, 1918, the Ukrainian forces, a small body of men, entered Lemberg. In Ukraine the peasantry, who were Ukrainian, had massacred the landlords, who were Polish, and the greatest mutual hate prevailed. The Jews of Lemberg, numbering 60,000, acknowledged the Ukrainians, and treated them as masters of the town. When the German troops revolted all over Poland at the time of the Armistice, and the whole edifice of German organisation fell to the ground in a day, a few Polish officers, a Major A. and others, raised a small volunteer force in Lemberg numbering between 1,000 and 2,000, which was composed of boys, roughs, and criminals, and even women in uniform. For nearly a fortnight they fought in the streets against the Ukrainians and, on the arrival of a similar force similarly raised by General B. from Cracow, drove the Ukrainians out of the town. This was really a splendid feat of arms.

During this struggle the Jews proclaimed themselves neutral; but, though I do not think they gave any armed assistance to the Ukrainians, their neutrality was highly benevolent to the Ukrainians and probably helpful. They thought the Ukrainians would win.

Major A. and General B. only kept their scratch armies of 2,000 or 3,000 together by promising them forty-eight hours' plunder of the Jews. I am inclined to think that of three-score Jews murdered during this period, some at least were killed by accident in the street fighting, but at least the majority were murdered, and these murders were accompanied by a proportionate amount of robbery and outrage. On

the second day these troops unfortunately found a petrol store in the Jewish quarter, and used it to burn the quarter down.

Some of the murders were committed because some of the soldiers were criminals. One motive, however, both of the murders and the burning, was genuine fear of this vast Jewish population surrounding this small body of Poles.

A large number of the civilian population of Lemberg, wealthy, middle-class people, joined in the plunder of the Jewish shops.

Pinsk

A Polish officer, Major C., found himself last spring in occupation of the town proper. He had only a very small detachment of men; the Russian Bolsheviks had only just been driven out, and their lines were quite close. The Jewish population of Pinsk showed a great deal of coldness towards Major C., who was suspicious of their relations with the Bolsheviks, and, I think both irritated and anxious; he had posted proclamations that any unauthorised meeting would be punished by death.

On a Saturday afternoon, the Zionist Co-operative organisation had a perfectly proper, authorised business meeting. This meeting took place in the offices of the Zionist organisation, which is very anti-Polish. After the meeting had ended and been formally closed, a great many members of the Co-operative association remained in the same room talking together: other members of the Zionist organisation, including ladies, were in the rooms at the same time. This collection of people must have presented the appearance of a meeting, and I think the members remaining in one room were numerous enough technically to constitute a meeting. There was some insolence in this and the previous behaviour of the Jews: Sir Stuart Samuel pointed out to the witnesses that their authorised meeting itself had been a breach of the Sabbath and therefore a grave religious offense.

Polish soldiers and gendarmerie who had been pressing for forced labour, and probably using this as a blackmailing pretext, entered the building (I am not sure whether by accident or owing to a previous denunciation) and arrested and searched those present. They no doubt obtained a considerable amount of money for themselves in this search. They then took 50 or 60 in number to the headquarters of Major C., and reported that they had arrested the members of an unauthorised Jewish Bolshevik meeting. Major C., who had almost at the same hour heard of a Bolshevik success near the town, and was preparing to evacuate it, gave orders for their immediate execution. This was done without trial of any sort and even without taking their names. One person at least of those executed had been swept into the crowd of prisoners by accident in the street. The whole incident only took two or three hours.

Owing to an accident the Commission did not see Major C., but I think, though he acted with great brutality, a court must have acquitted him as being within his strict rights. Real fear was one

of his motives. But, on the other hand, he would hardly have acted with such promptitude if others than Jews had been in question.

The gendarmerie who made the arrests and reported that they had found a Jewish Bolshevik meeting were chiefly responsible; their motive was no doubt to avoid answering for the money they had obtained in the search. Their subsequent conduct was even worse. The Jewish ladies arrested, but exempted from the execution, were kept in prison without trial and enquiry. They were stripped naked and flogged. After the flogging they were made to pass naked down a passage full of Polish soldiers. The Jews arrested, but excepted from the execution, were next day led to the cemetery where those executed were buried, and made to dig their own graves, then, at the last moment, they were told they were reprieved; in fact, the gendarmerie regularly tormented the survivors.

We were informed, but have no exact information, that the heads of this gendarmerie were subsequently found guilty of various crimes.

The victims were respectable lower middle-class people, school teachers, and such like.

Lida, Vilna, Minsk

These towns were all stormed by the Polish troops, who drove out the Bolsheviks; Lida and Vilna in April, Minsk in July. The Bolsheviks occupied them all from almost the beginning of the year. The Bolshevik administration in all of them was directed by Poles, but the Jews took their usual large part in the Bolshevik administration, and the Jewish population was, in consequence, as usual, favoured or managed to get favoured ("Jüdischer Weise," as the Jews call bribery). The Bolshevik chariot was drawn neither by terror nor by plunder: there were no executions except military executions of deserters by the Chinese executioners. The Bolshevik administration was a parody of the Tsarist administration, which itself was little better than a parody. I think it was probably a good example of Bolshevik rule when it is not frightened into showing its teeth and claws.

In Lida and Vilna the Jews who, of course, are Litwaki in the eastern regions, were very well disposed to the Bolsheviks because they were Russian: any Russian Government, even the worst, rather than Polish Government, even the best. But nowhere in any of these three towns was there any organised resistance by the Jewish community, who in Vilna number more than 60,000, to the Polish troops. In Minsk they were less well disposed to the Bolsheviks, for the Bolsheviks had been there three months longer, and they had begun to experience the usual effects of Bolshevism in towns—nothing to eat.

Both in Lida and Vilna the Bolsheviks had organized small "garrison guards," a small local Bolshevik garrison. Young Jews had largely joined this because the garrison guards had such excellent opportunities of doing business, especially dealing

and speculating in food. In both Lida and Vilna these Jews of the garrison guards fought, and fought hard, against the Polish troops.

Lida was taken first. A small detachment of Polish troops entered the town, did some fighting and plundering, and retreated. Before the Poles could arrive in force the next day the Bolsheviks evacuated the town, but the garrison guard which remained fought the Poles. Lida has a population of 12,000, of which 8,000 are Jews. When the Poles arrived in force they plundered the town: more than 30 non-combatant Jews were killed—among them a considerable allowance must be made for those killed by accident in street fighting. Others, quite innocent, were made responsible for the shots fired from their houses, and executed; and others, equally innocent, murdered. The same allocation of deaths must be made in Vilna, where the total number was more than twice as high. I am inclined to think the Polish troops started plundering as soon as they entered Lida on both days. The plundering was accompanied by a great deal of violence and brutality. In billets at Lida—but not during the fighting—a Polish soldier was murdered by a Jew, and with those horrible mutilations practised by Jewish Chassidim murderers and which is one of the many ways in which they do not seem to be European.

This murder and the resistance of the garrison guard had very much excited the Polish troops, who surprised Vilna a few days later and drove out the Bolsheviks. The events of Lida were repeated, but on a very great scale and with much greater fury. There can be no doubt, in spite of the perfectly sincere denials of the leaders of the Jewish community, that many Jews fought with the Bolsheviks as they were retreating. The Polish military authorities were genuinely alarmed, and believed they were threatened by the whole of this vast Jewish population, as their arrest of several thousand Jews, some of whom are still interned, shows. There can be no less doubt that the majority of the Jews summarily executed, very often from genuine error, for having fired on Polish troops or assisted the Bolsheviks, were perfectly innocent. There was the same plundering, violence, and brutality as at Lida, but on a scale proportionate to the large Jewish population, and lasting about three days.

At Lida, certainly, the military authorities subsequently held enquiries, but, as might be expected, it was not possible to identify the murderers or executioners.

At Minsk, General Jadwin, of Mr. Morgenthau's Mission, was with the Poles, and special measures were taken by the Polish commanders. Further, the Jewish population had been longer under Bolshevik rule and had learnt it meant no food. In spite of this several Jews were killed.

But the behaviour of the Posnanian troops indicated the feelings of the Polish soldiers towards the Jews better than any general description. Knowing their habits the Polish Command had ordered them to pass right through the town without halting.

This seemed to them so gross an infringement of their rights that they disobeyed orders, stopped in the market place, and plundered the Jewish shops.

Cracow

Though pogroms at Cracow were reported, this was not the case. The Jews, remembering Lemberg, armed themselves and rather terrified everyone else.

The death, execution, or murder of innocent people cannot be justified. But not even the military commanders can be made responsible for the events at Lida, Vilna, and Minsk. A strong Government might have sent Major C. (of Pinsk) to trial, but I think an impartial court must have acquitted him; and a strong Government, disregarding the eminent services to Poland of Major A. and General B. (of Lemberg), might have taken disciplinary measures against them. I believe General B. was for a short time declared to be not responsible for his acts. But last winter, so far from there being a strong Government, there was no Government at all.

It seems undesirable to use the word "pogrom," because the actual meaning of the word (whatever its etymology may be) implies direction or organisation by the Government. Pogroms were massacres of Jews instigated and arranged by the Russian Government.

Nevertheless, the murders of Lemberg are a shocking outrage, the disgusting cruelty of which is not at all expressed in a bare finding of fact; and the Pinsk executions, in their harsh brutality, are little better.

But the horrors of Bolshevism, the atrocities of the Ukrainian risings, and the brutalities of the struggles between the Germans and Russians—next to which these events are small and trivial—have dulled the consciences of men in Eastern Europe; they have supped full of horrors and can no longer be moved. Otherwise I am sure that the Poles themselves would have protested against these cruelties.

Future Condition of the Jews

All these physical excesses will cease on demobilisation: they are the effect of war, or of a state of war. And the more disgraceful manifestations of hatred to Jews in public will cease when strangers begin to come and go in the country; otherwise the Poles will get a bad reputation in the world. They will be shamed into behaving.

But the situation of the Jews will hardly be a happier one. Every morning, an ordinary Jewish gentleman—in Warsaw very like what he is in London—reads papers that cover his race with contumely. He and his womenfolk never deal with Poles except to be treated with insolence, and his children come back from school with their ears ringing with abuse. Every independent Polish institution is as determined to oust the Jews, the national enemy, as in England, we, during the war, were to oust the Germans. Jewish professors, how-

ever able, have been turned out of universities; Jewish doctors, however famous, from hospitals. Every university, by some means or other, exerts itself to keep down its Jewish undergraduates to a minimum. Tramway companies will not have Jewish employés, and so on throughout the whole range of Polish life. The only body who does act fairly, and against whom no charges brought by the Jews were proved, is the Government, but even they do it more or less secretly. In the matter of army contracts, trading, and import licenses, and so on, the very numerous accusations brought by the Jews were groundless.

This is what I meant when I said that the Poles now had other means than the boycott: the boycott itself now wages less fiercely, because the lesson has been taught. The Poles do not now want the lesson, and they do it naturally.

The boycott now is, probably, what it always was. The Jews are middlemen, merchants, dealers, shopkeepers, and not producers. The bigger ones, the richer, who are mostly Europeanised, are protected by natural causes; they are too good at business, with their centuries of business experience, to be affected by it, or feel the competition of the Poles. Boycotting then must always be an expensive patriotic luxury. But the smaller, the poorer, who are mostly Chassidim, can and are dispensed with, and suffer greatly from it. I will discuss their economic condition later.

But with regard to the general position of the Jews in Poland, a broader and higher view must be taken.

Poland will be mostly Polish, but not entirely; it will have many minorities: the Ruthenian, now protected by a semi-autonomy; the Jews, aspiring to autonomy; the White Russian, still unconscious, but who one day may also dally with self-determination—to say nothing of Germans and Lithuanians looking to their brethren across the frontier. It will be far from homogeneous. If a plebiscite were taken to-day in Warsaw, the capital of Poland, as to whether Warsaw should be Polish, yes or no, the answer might quite easily be no.

These minorities it must reconcile: it is a condition of its existence. It can only do so by giving them all a fair and strong Government. Otherwise it will be distracted in time of peace and deserted in time of war. As for the Jews, a powerful and just administration, in spite of an enduring social prejudice, would make them loyal to Poland, which is what they are far from being now. The Chassidim, who act in accordance with the Talmudic maxim, "Pay not homage unto a new king," are only waiting to see whether the new king will last; and such an administration would take the wind right out of the sails of the Jewish Nationalist Party.

There is a school of very eminent Polish politicians who think that these minorities can be either driven out or bullied out of themselves, and this idea is really the source of anti-Semitism. But though persecution or emigration might largely disburden Poland of its Jews, and probably will, there will still be millions left. These statesmen, how-

ever eminent, have not till now had any experience of affairs, because Poland has not till now become a State. But they will find that working on men is very different from working on paper and ink; that the Jews are supple but tough adversaries; and that a race planted in Poland a thousand years, however inconvenient, cannot be eradicated without a convulsion that would be almost fatal.

Recommendations

The instructions given to the Commission enjoin them to report on the general economic condition of the Jews, and it is on this side that the Jews might really be given assistance.

The great mass of poor Jews are Chassidim; the wealthier are Europeanised and far more lax: for wealth rapidly destroys piety, and, lest I be thought flippant, I record that this observation is not my own, but that of the most eminent Rabbi in Warsaw. The Chassidim form an immense mass of squalid and helpless poverty, the existence of which would be a great problem, even if the relations of the Poles and Jews were perfectly harmonious.

For these poor Jews are all dealers, as their ancestors have been for centuries: and for their particular kind of dealing, capitalists as they are with a capital of a few shillings, there is every year less and less room. The Jew in the country who lives by lending a few roubles to a peasant and taking a chicken as interest, or who buys a load of vegetables and resells them, or is a pedlar; the Jew in the town who is a hawker, a tout, or in some small middleman's business, these have greater and greater difficulty in making a living. There must be millions of such in Poland. The co-operative society and store, and the bank drive them more and more out of business in the country, and more modern methods of distribution in the town; and this is likely, now the economic development of Poland is no longer to be artificially restricted, to go on faster and faster. It is they who suffer from the boycott, because it excludes them from all kinds of occupations—tramway employés, for example—of no great skill, which they are capable of following. And they cannot emigrate: how can they get a living in a foreign country when their sole means of livelihood is bargaining in Yiddish and Polish? The best proof of this is the way they are sweated in semi-unskilled trades when they do emigrate. They are hardly ever producers: on this point everyone is agreed, and the Zionist Congress say the same as M. Dmowski. Poor Jews cannot go into factories, partly because of their Sabbatarian

principles, partly because Polish workmen will not work with people whose personal habits are so unclean. When they are artisans they are unskilled, or almost unskilled: cheap tailors or similar trades. The result is that in towns it is they who fill the sweating dens, as sweepers or sweated, and as such are familiar to us, because they play the same piteous part in the East End of London. Furthermore, they are also driven into all sorts of illicit or fraudulent practices, and I think the Poles are right when they complain that too large a proportion of convictions for such offences are Jewish.

They are unfit for the modern economic world, not in consequence of any fault of their own, but in consequence of a long historical past; in this respect (but in this respect only) they are comparable to the negroes in the United States, whom a long past in African forests or in American plantations, unfitted to take their place in the modern world when they are turned out into it, and who present an analogous problem in the United States. Booker Washington, who did so much for the negro, called his gospel by the very modest name of the "gospel of the toothbrush," and always insisted that keeping clean, learning a trade or some occupation of physical skill, or suchlike humble lessons, which education, in its ever-loftier flights disdains, was what the negro really required. And this is what the enormous mass of Orthodox Jews really require; but as the average intelligence of the Jew and the Negro are not only different, but stand at the opposite ends of the scale, there is very much more prospect of succeeding with them.

The enlightened East Jews recognise this, but I doubt whether West Jews do, or could easily be got to recognise anything so contrary to their fixed ideas as that any Jews exist who are unfitted for the modern economic world. But no one else can help these poor people, who engrossed as they are in the practice of their strange and age-old religion, will look with suspicion on anything that does not come to them from their co-religionists and Rabbis.

The Commission of which I have the honour of being a member was appointed in consequence of representations made by the Jewish community in Great Britain, and the sole recommendation I venture to make is that the same community be invited to study this side of the subject.

I have, &c.

P. WRIGHT.

Sir Horace Rumbold, Bart., G.C.M.G., M.V.O.

¹ See the "Jewish Chronicle," August 1, 1919, p. 23. ² See L. Stein, "Die Vorschriften der Thora," 1904. ³ See Graetz, "Geschichte der Juden." ⁴ See H. Cohen, "Das Problem der Judischen Sittenlehre." ⁵ See Graetz, "Geschichte der Juden." ⁶ For a full but partial account of the whole process, see "Die Juden der Gegenwart," by A. Ruppin, Jüdischer Verlag, Köln, 1911. ⁷ See "Die Rassenmerkmale der Juden."

⁸ See "Die General Privilegien der Polnischen Judenschaft," by P. Bloch, J. Jolowicz, Posen, 1832. ⁹ See the Resolution of the Fourth Zionist Congress, August 19, 1919. ¹⁰ See Mr. Grunbaum's declaration adopted at the Fourth Zionist Conference, Warsaw, August 19, 1919.

Typical Hymns of Hate

and a Few Other Voices

AN EXAMPLE OF MODERATION

Prince Casimir Lubomirski, the former pro-German burgomaster* of Warsaw and the present Polish Minister or Ambassador to the United States, declares shame-facedly that every native of Poland of good character, is by the Polish Constitution, a citizen, and any immigrant coming into Poland can become a citizen in the same way as he can in the United States, except that the period of probation is ten instead of five years. Prince Lubomirski further insists that Poland does not discriminate between citizen and citizen, and that all are equal before the law and all are free to do as they please and to go their own way as long as they do not violate the laws of the country. According to this princely gentleman of Polish habits, there is actually no Jewish question in Poland, for the Polish Constitution provides for the emancipation of the Polish Jews. The gentlemen in Washington have listened to this explanation of his Polish Excellency and are astounded. On the one hand there are authentic reports reaching this country daily to the effect that the Polish people are crazy with Jew-hatred, and that they are busily engaged in pogroms and in all forms of Jew-baiting, and on the other hand there is an official declaration on the part of the accredited Polish Minister to the United States in which he says that the Jews in Poland are emancipated and are free to do as they please as long as they do not violate the laws of Poland. Prince Lubomirski is the only Polish representative abroad who has the audacity, nay the impudence, to tell the most shameful lies regarding the treatment of the Polish Jews. The well-known Polish musician, Casimir Stojowski, in an article published in this month's "North American Review" is going one better. To him, Poland is actually paradise, a blessing to humanity, a blessing to civilization and a blessing to all the Poles and to all those who live in Poland.

We presume that there is a specimen of humanity that can best be characterized as prize-liars, and that the Polish representatives abroad personify best this specimen of humanity.

The Polish representatives abroad know very well that among the three million Jews in Poland there is not one who holds an official office or municipal office, that the Jews are actually excluded from participation in the management of the State. The Polish representatives abroad know very well that the Jews in Poland are excluded from most all the industries and are also driven out of trade and commerce. The Polish representatives abroad know perfectly well that there is an organized social economic boycott between the Poles and the Polish Jew, called into being some fifteen years ago and making rapid strides, not only in Poland proper, but in all the countries occupied by the Polish military. The Polish representatives abroad know perfectly

well that the Polish Jews are being robbed and beaten every day in the presence of the Polish police, they know that there is no protection for the Polish Jews, they know that each and every Polish Jew must give away part of his poor income to the police, if he wants to be safe in the streets or wants to be insured against beard pulling, or any other pogrom-like activity of the Polish ruffians. The Polish representatives abroad know that the Polish academic authorities do not admit Jews to the Polish universities, because they are Jews, and that the Polish government is doing its utmost to outdo Czarism. They know that all the outrages perpetrated by old Russia against the Jews are child-play in comparison with the appalling crimes committed by the Polish government and the Polish people against the Jews. If the American people knew only one-tenth part of the crimes committed by Poland against the Jews, no Pole would dare to show his face in this country. The Polish representatives abroad know that even the Spanish inquisition has not committed so many crimes against the Jews as Poland is committing now, but still they have the audacity and impudence to assert that all is well with the Polish Jews, that they are not discriminated against, and that their rights are guaranteed by the Constitution. We know that the rights are guaranteed by the Constitution, but to the Poles the Constitution of their own country does not mean anything? To them the Constitution is just a scrap of paper, and it is so because the Poles, a demoralized and degenerated people, are a nation without honor, and without honesty, and they are the only nation among all the re-established eastern European nations who have started their new career by committing crimes and outrages against national and religious minorities. It is obvious that a pogromist people, like the Poles, will do anything to hide their crimes for the time being and that their representatives will act like prize-liars and lie away the blue from the sky in order to gain a momentary success. But one cannot fool all the people all the time. The day will soon come when these Lubomirskies and Stojowskies and other Polish prize-liars in the western countries will be recognized as such and their assurances will no more carry weight than those of the Prussians under the Hohenzollerns. Poland born in crime and sin will go under in a sea of crime and sin.

—From "*The Sentinel*," the *American Jewish Weekly*, Chicago, July 23, 1920.

* The truthfulness of this type of journalism may be judged by this reference. There was no "pro-German burgomaster" of Warsaw under the German occupation, but a regency Council was instituted, composed, among others, of the archbishop of Warsaw and Zdzislaw Lubomirski, who was quite distantly related to the present Minister of Poland to the United States.

POLISH REVOLT IS NEAR, SAYS JUSTICE LEVY

N. Y. Jurist, in Paris, Likens Army to Mexican Bandits—Tells of Frequent Pogroms

By C. F. BERTELLI,
Special Correspondent of New York American

Paris, Aug. 11—Poland is less fit for self-government than the Philippines, and the Polish army is in worse shape than the Mexican bandits. So asserted Justice Aaron Levy, presiding Justice of the New York Municipal Court, returning here from Warsaw this morning. He gave me a statement describing the conditions in Poland as "absolutely incredible," adding:

"Giving Poland her independence was the worst mistake of the makers of the Treaty of Versailles. The Polish people do not know the first rudiments of self-government. The great mass of the people is illiterate and unintelligent and is unable to use the franchise. The people live in terror and oppression. The Polish treatment of the Jews must be seen to be believed.

"By day and night miniature pogroms are executed throughout Poland. By an edict from Warsaw not one Jew is permitted to be a farmer or to work on the public utilities. As a result their land has been confiscated and they have been driven en masse into the small towns and cities. There, utterly dispirited and hopeless, they abjectly desire peace at any cost, preferring the Soviet régime to the present government, which is universally hated.

"In any event there soon will be a revolution in Poland. For if the government does not withdraw I am positive that the peasants will rise en masse and kick it out.

"When I left Poland Sunday the Soviet Army was thirty miles from Warsaw and advancing rapidly. No preparations were made for the defense of the city. When I return to America I intend to urge by every means in my power the intervention of the United States to save the millions of Jews in Poland from extermination."

—*New York American, August 12, 1920.*

THE IDEALS OF POLAND*

By His Excellency, HUGH GIBSON,
American Minister to Poland

When I went to Poland a little over a year ago, for the first time, or rather a few months before I went there, it was a country without a government, practically a howling wilderness from end to end, a country without any organized railway system or distribution of food or any of the normal facilities of modern life. To-day there is a very distinct contrast to that time. Orderly government is maintained throughout all the territories held by the Polish Government. The railway system,

while not yet perfect, is rapidly getting better. Food distribution is improving day by day, and altogether there is a decided progress. And, in spite of the sufferings of the past six years—sufferings that we can hardly understand—the progress of the past few months has been sufficient, not only to keep up the high morale of the Army and the civil population, but to key them to a higher pitch, which gives us every reason to hope that Poland will pull through, overcome all her obstacles, and establish herself as a center of orderly government, that is essential to the maintenance of order and peace in eastern Europe.

* From an address delivered at the inaugural luncheon of the American-Polish Chamber of Commerce and Industry, New York, May 27, 1920.

THE CURE OF POLAND'S EVILS

By HENRY MORGENTHAU

If American Jewry wants to cure the evils of Poland they must get at the root of it. Sending one or two million Jews to Palestine will do little good. The evil consists in allowing the Jews in a town to follow one or two pursuits. Where there are 5,000, perhaps 1,000 of them could make an honest living, but 5,000 must cheat each other or starve. They must be given schools of instruction. They must change their mode of life. It will take a year's intensive study to find out how to do it, but it would be a most creditable achievement for those Jews who have benefited by liberty in this country.

—*From a Speech Before the Judaeans, New York, December 14, 1919, and Reprinted from the New York Times of December 15, 1919.*

PATRIOTISM

Secretary, the American Polish Chamber of Commerce, New York.

My Dear Sir:

In reply to your circular letter* of August 30th. I beg to inform you that I am not interested in doing business with Poland, although I was myself born at Warsaw.

But having been informed last year, while in Paris, how the Polish people were persecuting the Hebrew race of which I am proud to be a member. I have no confidence nor desire to have any business association with the Polish people.

Therefore, you will kindly eliminate mailing any further advertising matter to me.

ISIDORO GELBTRUNK,
67 Worth Street.

* A letter sent out by the American-Polish Chamber of Commerce drawing attention to business opportunities in Poland.

IF WARSAW FALLS

Editor Globe:—You wonder what will happen if Warsaw falls. Here is my guess, based upon a pretty fair understanding of the Bolshevik mind. The Polish Army will have been annihilated long before Warsaw is reached. When that is accomplished the purpose for which Soviet Russia mobilized its army, much against its will, shall have been achieved. They will, therefore, evacuate Poland. Meanwhile the Polish proletariat, freed from the despotism which made them the gendarme of allied imperialism, will have established their own government. Warsaw will surrender—to the Polish Soviet.

What will the Allies do? Why, open trade with Soviet Russia.

MORRIS ZUCKER.

New York, July 9.

—*New York Globe*, July 13, 1920.

MORE POGROMS BY BEATEN POLES

Editor Globe:—Reports of pogroms and massacres perpetrated by the treacherous, cowardly Polish hordes upon the Jews, in their hasty retreat before the Soviet armies, are again flooding the Jewish newspapers. (The English press is silent on such news, as usual).

A bloody pogrom was organized in my own native town, Bobruisk, with every home pillaged and the women ravaged in the open in broad daylight by the blood-thirsty Polish beasts. My own people may have become victims of some Polish assassin's hand. The imperialistic clique of the Allied Powers have with shameless hypocrisy raised the cry that Poland is being crushed by the Bolsheviks, that Poland is being enslaved by Russia, that Poland's independence must be safeguarded, and that we must come to her rescue.

The massacres of the Jews by the Polish military, and the persecution of the Jews by the Polish Government officials did not annoy the allied rulers in the least. In fact, it seems as if they wouldn't give a whoop if the whole Jewish population of Poland were put to slaughter, so long as the Polish junkers and black hundred kept themselves amused, and satisfied to be the "buffer state" between western "civilization" and "culture," and the Bolsheviks' dangerous doctrine of "No work, no eat" to be applied to all husky, healthy fellows.

In spite of the whining protestations, and even the threat of a holy war upon it by the militaristic clique of the Allies, the Soviet government must, and no doubt will, completely disarm the Polish brigands, even as we would take away the gun from a dangerous criminal, notwithstanding the pleas of his friends to leave the weapon with their comrade.

CHARLES GOLOSMAN.

New York, Aug. 10.

—*New York Globe*, Aug. 18, 1920.

CONDITIONS IN POLAND

To the Editor of The World:—Allow me to express my admiration of the most accurate and truthful analysis of Poland and her traits by your correspondent Mr. Arno Dosch-Fleurot in today's "World." If there was ever "a guest for a while who sees for a mile," it is this genius of a journalist who is a worthy representative of your esteemed paper.

As a member of the Jewish race who had the misfortune of being born and raised in that country and subject to the oppressive and cruel methods of the Poles' dealing with any one who is unfortunate enough to be at their mercy, I cannot but regret the fact that my beloved U. S. A., of which I have the honor of being a citizen now, has listened to the yelp of the treacherous and always imperialistic Poland, and so generously extended to her its helping hand and good-will, of which she is unworthy. There is but one thing in the victorious outcome of the war for democracy that will always make me, and thousands of others who are still under Poland's heel, regret the sacrifices we have offered for that great and worthy cause, and that is the consequent independence granted to Poland, which is to her a license to mistreat and persecute all people of other nationality under her rule. I. H. L. Brooklyn, July 11.

—*World*, July 22, 1920.

SIR STUART SAMUEL,

He Puts Responsibility for Outrages up to the Polish Government

Sir Stuart Samuel is at the head of the British investigating commission, which, after investigating Jewish conditions in Poland, placed the blame for the bloody pogroms upon the Polish Government. The report brings shocking details of brutality displayed by soldiers in persecuting the Jewish population, and cites numerous cases where Jewish women were stripped naked and flogged mercilessly without cause.

—From the Press, Long Beach, Cal. This is the caption that was published in hundreds of papers throughout the United States, without change, beneath a Keystone Syndicate picture of Sir Samuel.

GIBSON'S OPTIMISM ON POLAND

It is perhaps safe to say that no Government, since orderly governments were established, has been faced with so many serious problems, at one time. But to my mind the essential thing is not the magnitude of the problems, but the manner and the spirit in which they are approached. And it is in that phase of the matter that I find ground for optimism.

—From an address, "The Ideals of Poland," by His Excellency, Hugh Gibson, American Minister to Poland.

BOERSIANER SENDS AN OPEN NOTE TO PRINCE LUBOMIRSKI, POLISH MINISTER IN UNITED STATES

By BOERSIANER

Chicago, Aug. 12—To Poland's Minister at Washington, Prince Lubomirski:—Excellency:

It is reported you will solicit from the United States another loan for your country: To the \$100,000,000 already loaned by the American Government and the \$50,000,000 odd advanced by private American creditors to your people and their representatives you will ask that a fairly large sum be added.

Your Excellency knows that in purely money matters financiers are subjective, not objective, and that political economy, as such, does not, in the abstract, concern itself about the moral or religious phases of a community. The former look to their security and interest. The latter to the thrift of a commonwealth.

But you must also be aware that when the moral attitude of a government and the religious prejudice and fanaticism of a people are of a nature to impel resentment on the part of many and important leaders in world finance; when the thrift of a nation is seriously jeopardized by murdering and plundering one-fifth of that nation's useful and thrifty citizens—then finance and political economy must intervene.

Religious Difference

There are in your country 3,000,000 patriotic Poles who differ in their religion from the rest of the populace. The difference is neither organic nor structural. It is supplemental. Yet, slight as it is, it has been made the incentive—or the excuse—for assassination and pillage of the minority. Children, women, old men and invalids as well as strong men have been wantonly butchered and ruthlessly robbed for no other reason than that they were Jews.

These butcheries and robberies find no parallel for cruelty and cowardice in the pogroms under the old régime in Russia, for, under czardom, the government made at least some attempt to prevent and to stop them. But in your country your government deliberately planned and executed them, specifically in Lemberg, Lida, Vilna and Pinsk. In the last named city the awful massacre was absolutely a military murder—all the murderers wore the Polish uniform.

You know what I write is fact, know that the appalling record is to be found in the report of the British Commissioner to Poland to investigate the nameless slaughters. Thousands of innocent creatures have been killed, maimed, their property stolen, at the direct instigation of your Government, by Polish soldiers, Polish fanatics, Polish professional murderers and thieves; victims who loved and served Poland in war and in peace; whose ancestors have lived in Polish territory for centuries; the most part of which were industrious artisans; the minor-

ity of which were skillful financiers and knowledgeable economists, for whom Poland was in sore need; murdered and robbed, as I say, for no other reason than that they were Jews.

Crimes of Free Republic

And these crimes (at which even Russian czardom had been horrified) committed in the new Polish republic, in (at length) the free and independent Poland yearned for by the liberty-loving people of the world generally!

I will admit to you I was worrisomely disconcerted when for your first Prime Minister you chose that great pianist and puny-minded and peasant-prejudiced Paderewski. One could not converse a quarter of an hour with that incomparable musician and brainless man without hearing from him some stupid calumny of the Jews.

His selection for Premier had been Homericly grotesque had it not symbolized the outrageous views and feelings of your governing class toward 3,000,000 Polish citizens; had it not been indicative of what followed in the way of murder, rape and robbery; had it not been a presentment of the general incompetency of your government as shown by the outcome of the war with Russia.

Permit me to remind Your Excellency that anarchies in government or in any part of the people are not permitted in this world. To the Maker of this universe they are eternally abhorrent; and from the beginning have been forbidden to be. They go their course, applauded—usually by self—for what lengths of time none can know; for a long term sometimes, but always for a fixed term; and at last their day comes.

Sense of Humanity Needed

It were inexpressibly regrettable, your Excellency, for your government to explode in something worse than in the Nie Pozwalam in which your forty different diets of old exploded. May Heaven forefend such a fate. The world wishes the Poland of to-day well.

But Poland will not, cannot, prosper until there shall be a radical conversion of your governors, until at worst a primitive sense of humanity toward 3,000,000 Poles comes to the upper crust of your society.

Meanwhile political economists will be considering how a nation—a new nation at that—can thrive when 3,000,000 of its commercially and financially most competent citizens are subject to momentary murder and robbery; meanwhile Jewish financiers the world over will think thrice ere they subscribe to another Polish loan.

Be assured, Your Excellency, of my profound respect, highest esteem and most distinguished consideration.

BOERSIANER.

—*New York American (William Randolph Hearst)*, August 13, 1920.

FOR POGROMS THAT NEVER HAPPENED

The Poles meanwhile are maligned with the usual mercilessness of those professional mercy-mongers who are so horrified by the cruelties of life that they add as many more as they can.

The charge of imperialism has served at least to give us a brief respite from the anti-Polish propaganda of certain Jews who accused Poland of butchering Jews by the thousand.

Has everybody forgotten the procession in New York and in other cities where mourning was worn and dirges were sung for the slaughtered multitudes of the Polish pogroms? Has any one apologized to Poland for accusing her of rivaling Turkey, in Armenia? I have not seen the apologies, though many eminent Americans exploded a lot of lofty eloquence against Poland on behalf of civilization and in protest against the thousands of Jewish slain.

If there had been any truth in the charge the eloquence would have been honorable. But an apology would be still more honorable now that the commissions have reported that the thousands of victims are reduced to 285. Ambassador Hugh Gibson branded the charges as lies, and Ambassador Morgenthau, himself a Jew, who visited Poland and investigated, gave the quietus to the venomous campaign of slander. The respectable Jewish majority incurs much undeserved hatred because of the vicious activity of a few.

—From *Imperialism in Reborn Poland*, by Rupert Hughes, the Author, in *New York Times Book Review and Magazine*, July 18, 1920.

THE INCIDENT AT KIEF

"At the final entrainment in the city the Jewish people, moved by some extraordinary influence, started shooting from the windows at the Poles. Only by the issuance of strict orders were the men (Polish soldiers) held back from retaliating. It was considered best to ignore the sniping and carry on. Thanks to the poor marksmanship of the Reds and of their aids within the city the casualties were relatively few. In the refugee train, crowded particularly with women and children, the excitement was terrible as the train passed under gunfire. Twice during the night the priests gave the last rites of the Church to the people crowded into the box cars on the several trains."

—From the *New York Times*, July 2, 1920, Special Correspondence from Washington, D. C., being the account of Colonel Gaskill, formerly of the United States Army, and Jay P. Moffat, Secretary of the American Legation of Warsaw. The Correspondent said, "The account, received today, although not official, is regarded as reliable information."

TRAGIC SITUATION OF THE JEWS

By MAJOR SANFORD GRIFFITH

The present plight of the Jews in Poland is not the result of any malicious project of extermination, but the direct consequence of the economic chaos created by the war. The force and vigor of the Polish Christian people comes from the land. The future of the nation is assured, whatever the outcome of the present struggle, because 70 per cent. of them are on the farms. But the Polish Jews have lived and thrived by industry and trade, on the manipulation of a delicate machinery which has been completely junked during the war. Factories are paralyzed and have been during the greater part of the war. For a time trade continued in a more or less crippled way, and many Jews adapted themselves to the abnormal conditions and continued to make money. But the masses, less enterprising, have only suffered from closed markets, hindered transportation and other difficulties. Now most of this irregular trade has ceased. Goods are not to be had. The Poles have become a poor people who cannot buy even where the goods exist.

The low social state of the Polish Jews makes them particularly helpless to pull themselves out of their present plight. Orthodoxy here has taken its worst forms. A large part of the Jews in Poland know only the organization of their cult, and this has too often been a narrow, ritualistic strait-jacket, which has kept the Jews apart from the Polish population about them. . . .

The hatred existing between the Polish Jews and the Christians, whatever form it may take, is at bottom largely economic. It is none the less accentuated by the low culture of the Polish Jews themselves. This is most conspicuous in the gulf which separates them from the large number of so-called assimilated Jews, those who have dropped their old Jewish traditions and taken up Polish ones. Many of these assimilated Jews hold positions of wealth and influence. But they are so conscious of the difference between themselves and their old kinsmen, and so eager to seem a part of the new set, that they have not responded as generously as the American Jews to the support of their poor kinsmen here.

Not only does the economic disorder due to the war make the situation of the Polish Jews a critical one, but the evolution of the economic system in Poland tends to make living impossible for an increasing number of them. For centuries business remained exclusively in the hands of the Jews. But in the last generation an increasing number of Poles have left the land and have taken an active part in commerce and industry. The competition here has become increasingly acute, and, unlike other countries, the Jew in Poland has not the training sufficient to hold his ground.

The Jews have been the middlemen of Poland. They were the venders and the money-lenders to the farms. But now the growth of banks and co-operatives has deprived them of much of this business as well. . . .

—From the *New York Globe*, September 1, 1920.

TO THE JEWISH CITIZENS
Are We Really So Wicked? Are We So
Bloodthirsty?

Recent developments among our citizens are pointing to a reopening of the old sores, the old squabbles, which in cases have ended up in blows, are daily occurrences. The inevitable result will be a further widening of the gap between the Poles and the Jews, which in time is bound to have an evil bearing upon the status of Poland in the rank of the world nations.

Where lies the fault?

You will all admit that right along your attitude towards the Poles in America has been antagonistic; we were an inferior race, as most of your younger generation has termed us: "Damn Polacks."

Your prominent men, your press has been filled with vituperation against Poland. You forget that a Pole loves Poland just as intensely as a Jew loves the Jewish race. You forget that our soldiers are fighting a mighty battle, with a mighty military machine, equipped with scythes, pitch-forks and pocket-knives, without clothing, starved. You must know that last winter the Polish soldier marched bare-footed, with not even a sock to protect his feet, and you know that he is facing a winter that will be worse in all conditions. Do you realize that an interview like that published by the "New York American" last week with Judge Levy, creates a sentiment against Poland in the very country that can help her most in her distress, and do you wonder that every native born Pole, and even those of Polish extraction, are warmed to a fever heat by such irresponsible, wanton statements.

Poland has suffered too much. Her land is saturated with the red blood of her sons, who have perished during her 100 years of slavery. Freedom was too dearly bought to be lost now, through the machinations of any certain group or clique of people.

I, myself, have always believed that the Jewish problem must be solved, and that it cannot be solved by extermination or emigration.

The problem must be met squarely by the Polish Government. Some kind of agreement must be reached. Poland cannot exist with a large antagonistic population within her borders. Our Polish Government has already given important positions to Jews in her Government. She has only a few days since appointed Prof Simon S. Askenazy her second representative to the League of Nations. Our embassy and consulates have Jews occupying important posts, so has our Diet. The Jews in Lemberg recently contributed 300,000 marks and voted to give Poland military aid and sustain her in her struggle against Bolshevism.

Why don't your news agencies broadcast facts like that upon the world, and show that we Poles, after all, are not so wicked?

Instead they seem to take a fanatical pleasure in disseminating news of imaginary pogroms and other anti-Polish propaganda. They do not consider that Poland is a country racked with over six years of horrible war. They do not consider that all kinds of people make up a nation. They do not mention that what they spread to all newspapers on earth as a "pogrom" might be nothing but a drunken brawl, a small altercation that ended in blows. At this date European dispatches publish stories of skirmishes between Poles, Germans, Ukrainians, Czechs, Slovaks, Lithuanians, etc. Yet none of these nations has raised the cry: "pogrom."

Bloodshed, licentiousness, robbery is a natural outcome of war. Our American history will tell us of robber bands after the Revolution; "guerillas" after the Civil War. Why condemn a nation for the acts of a few?

Are we really murderers? Do we really enjoy orgies of blood? Do we really kill innocent Jews and their children? Look around. Maybe your next door neighbor is a Pole. Maybe you have a few in your employ. Do they look like murderers, baby-killers; or are they just plain, hard working American citizens like yourself?

One thing more—I myself was born in America, in Newark—I have come in contact with Poles from Galicia, Posen, Lemberg, Plock and Warsaw. Always the sentiment has been the same. They all complained of the Jews. There was no concrete reason that could not be ironed out. I often wondered. So many people, from so many different sections, yet all with the same story. Why? Now the Jews are exceptionally good business people. They study trade conditions. When business is poor they want to know why, and then set out to get rid of that reason. Wouldn't it be a good idea to find a solution for this mighty problem that concerns the future of a nation?

It cannot be solved by wild rantings of a Judge Levy. That is only pouring oil upon the fire.

It cannot be solved by breaking windows and attacking Poles indiscriminately with shouts of "Damn Polacks."

It cannot be solved by the display of Jewish flags on a day like last Sunday, "Polish Day," with no other purpose than to be spiteful.

And it surely cannot be solved by propaganda, that is aimed at the very foundations of Poland, that would deprive Poland of her LIBERTY, and once again make her a slave.

FRANK KEMPCZYNKI, Editor.

—Published in the "Kronika," Polish language newspaper of Newark, New Jersey, August 18, 1920.

The Truth?

London—(J. C. B.)—The Warsaw correspondent writes that the Jews of that city celebrated July the Fourth by decorating their homes, closing their schools and holding a special service in their synagogues. *The Polish authorities resented the jubilations in honor of America's independence and prohibited all public manifestations.**

—From *The Sentinel, "The American Jewish Weekly," Chicago, July 23, 1920.*

There are some persons who affect to believe that there can be no such thing as gratitude between nations. It would have been a wholesome experience for these people if they could have witnessed as I did this year's celebration of the Fourth of July in Warsaw. The Bolsheviks were advancing on the city. Their approach was heralded by the reports of the cruelties and the devastation that were marking their path. Warsaw was in a state of the greatest anxiety.

The Poles, however, would let nothing interfere with the fitting celebration of America's birthday. In the churches of the city the people gathered to hear sermons of gratitude to the American people for what they have done for Poland. Afterwards the American colony assembled in the great square before the City Hall where a small copy of our statue of liberty had been erected. Ten thousand children, every one fed by the Hoover organization and clothed by the American Red Cross, marched through the square cheering America, their benefactor. In the evening there was a great reception at which fervid speeches were made to us Americans. But it is the children we shall always remember, and we know that whatever happens America has a friend in Europe for at least one generation.

By WILLIAM C. BOYDEN,
*American Commissioner of the League of Red Cross
Societies.*

* The italics are the Editor's.

The Situation

The importance of the foregoing reports would appear more vividly if at the same time was published the news which for nearly two years has been spread over the whole world concerning the terrible Polish "pogroms" and "atrocities," claiming that thousands upon thousands of peaceful citizens were murdered through race and religious hatred. Such a confrontation would show clearly of what Poland is accused, and what basis she was discredited and condemned in the opinion of the world, and what a small part of these accusations proved to be true. It would also show that although 90 per cent of the accusations were proved false, nobody withdrew them, and their authors took from the reports of the American and English Missions only what could be used against Poland. The rest they passed over in silence. To confront however the result of the investigations of these Missions with all these accusations, instead of a small book several volumes would be necessary.

From the very first moment, when at the beginning of November, 1918, Poland regained her independence, day after day and month after month, news of dreadful Jewish pogroms were spread over the whole world. What is more, no other news came from Poland, as if the Poles, after their liberation from 150 years of captivity, had nothing better to do than to murder Jews.

This news found the more credit as nobody contradicted it. And nobody could contradict it. The Polish Government could not, because there was no Polish Government. When, in November, 1918, the German and Austrian authorities ceased to function in Poland (the Russian authorities had long since fled), nobody remained to govern, and Poland, devastated by four years of war, found herself without government, without administration, without tribunals, without police and without an army. And when the Polish Government arose it still could not deny the pogroms, for it first had to create an administration that would restore order and investigate all excesses. All this was accomplished in an astonishingly short period, but even then the government could not occupy itself with a press campaign, firstly because it learned of these accusations very late in the day (Poland was virtually cut off from the world), secondly, because in addition to creating the whole machinery of State, it had to create an army in order to repulse invasion on four fronts.

And so the news of dreadful "pogroms" penetrated everywhere, spread systematically via Berlin and Vienna, and by special bureaux in Stockholm and Copenhagen, which from day to day furnished news to Zionist organizations possessing sufficient means and influence to give it a world-wide publication. And the news was frightful. It told of thousands

of Jews not only beaten and robbed, but murdered and burned alive. As these facts were confirmed by "eye-witnesses" it is no wonder they aroused general indignation. And when Mr. Israel Cohen, the Secretary of the London Zionist Organization, after investigating the matter on the spot published in English papers and at a meeting in Queen's Hall in London that such atrocities had taken place in Poland in 130 towns, indignation meetings and funereal processions began all over the world.

At this point the Polish Government began to issue denials of these crimes, which called forth greater indignation: "It is not enough that they murder innocent Jews, in addition they lie." For of necessity the denials were unaccompanied by proofs. When an "eye-witness" declared that he counted 2,300 Jewish corpses, how **prove** that it was untrue and that these corpses are living. Excited public opinion demanded negative proof from Poland, but did not demand proofs from her accusers. The news of "pogroms" were so established all over the world that the denials of the numerous foreign correspondents who began to visit Poland found no faith. What is more, when after December 1918 the various missions of the Allies began to arrive in Poland, and the members of these missions also began to deny the pogroms, even their testimony was regarded with suspicion. Jewish pogroms in Poland had become a dogma so firmly established that denials were useless.

When therefore Mr. Paderewski, at that time Polish Premier, requested the Governments of the Allies to send a special mission to Poland to find out the truth, an unheard of thing happened; the American as well as the English Government came to the conviction that in order that the reports should find credit a Jew must stand at the head of the mission. Christian testimony did not appear to be sufficient. This aroused among the Poles an astonishment as great as would have been felt by Polish Jews, if at the head of an American mission had been placed, for instance, Congressman Kleczka, an equally honored and respected American citizen, but suspected of partiality because of his Polish descent. And as humour never loses its rights even in the most dramatic moments, it was a standing joke in the Polish Press that at the head of the mission on the question of the lynching of negroes in America should be a colored gentleman from Haiti and a full blooded delegate from Central Africa.

But even thus, with Jews at its head, the task of this mission was not easy, for the question of pogroms in Poland had taken on such a character that even the testimony of Jews was accepted only when it was against Poland. A Polish Jew in Stockholm was brutally convinced of this when he was beaten and ejected from an indignation meeting for daring to question the truth of the accusations;

Mr. L. Pilichowski, President of the Union of Polish Jews in England, at the meeting in Queen's Hall (April 9th, 19) was greeted with insulting cries and shouted down when he expressed his conviction that the present Polish Government has every desire to establish tolerable relations with the Jews; Mr. Diamand, an eminent Jewish member of the Polish Parliament—and one of the leaders of the Socialist Party, was accused of treason by a Zionist paper for expressing a similar opinion.

In this difficult situation, the two chiefs of the missions for investigating pogroms in Poland chose different ways, Mr. Morgenthau, an American citizen of the Jewish faith, did not renounce his natural sympathy with his coreligionists, but at the same time strove to be an impartial judge, not the representative of one side only. The British Jew, Sir Stuart Samuel, did not take so much trouble, and the manner in which his investigations were carried out left in Poland the impression of an attorney gathering materials for an act of accusation, rather than of a judge.

The task was in any case so difficult, and the whole atmosphere so permeated with the bitterness of accusations and the poison of hate, that the members of both missions, the American as well as the English, were unable, in spite of their sincere desire, to make a common report. Mr. Morgenthau wrote a separate report, and General Jadwin and Mr. H. H. Johnson, two Christian members of his mission, wrote also a separate report while Sir Stuart Samuel's report had to be sandwiched between a letter by Sir H. Rumbold, the British Minister in Poland, and the report of Mr. P. Wright—both constituting a severe criticism of the report of Sir Stuart Samuel.

In spite of their diversity however, these reports possess great documentary value, for they represent one question from different standpoints. They would have to be recognized as the final revelation of the whole truth if they were completed by the remarks of a man occupying the same position towards the Polish nation as Sir Samuel occupied towards the Jews. In such a case the matter could have been considered by all sides as satisfactorily cleared up.

But just as they are, these reports give a pretty complete picture of the Jewish problem in Poland, considered as a whole.

In his letter of June 30th, 1919, Secretary Lansing defined the work of the mission as: "investigation of the various massacres, pogroms, and other excesses alleged to have taken place, the economic boycott, and other methods of discrimination against the Jewish race," afterwards adding that "the establishment of the truth in regard to those matters....is merely for the purpose of seeking to discover the reason lying behind such excesses and discriminations with a view to finding a possible remedy."

These three points: 1st, the truth about the pogroms etc., 2nd the reason lying behind such excesses, and 3rd the possible remedy, are presented

in a different manner not only by the two missions, but also by the members of each mission.

I—*Pogroms, Atrocities, Excesses*

Although the reports of the members of the two missions often differ in the description of anti-Jewish incidents in Poland, there is not much difference in the final result of their investigations. To a certain degree Sir Stuart Samuel is an exception, recognising as "proved to my satisfaction" details not quoted at all as proved by any of the other members of the two missions.

The final result of the investigations of both missions is that during the first five critical months there were about 280 killed in the anti-Jewish excesses (Morgenthau); that the number of killed "has not exceeded 300" (Jadwin-Johnson); that the number of killed was at least 348 (Sir S. Samuel); and "not more than 200 or 300 unjustly killed" (Wright). At the same time Sir H. Rumbold divides these excesses into two categories: those "which were perpetrated in Poland proper in the course of which 18 Jews lost their lives;" the others being those which occurred in the war zone during the campaign.

It must be remembered that newspaper reports of pogroms which aroused such world-wide indignation, mentioned thousands of Jews killed in each of the 130 Polish towns said to have been the scene of these "atrocities."

The disturbances in Poland proper happened during the first moments of her independence, when there was neither government, police nor army, and the starving population was free to attack stores where they believed provisions to be hidden. They did not seek Jews, but food. In any country in the world such excesses might have taken on greater proportions if the police ceased to act at the very moment when the hungry population, unable to buy food anywhere, seized all means of getting it. As to the incidents in the war zone, it must be remembered that reports confirm in part that the Jews fought on the side of the enemies of Poland at the most critical moment, and in part that they were suspected of this with more or less justice. If it is recalled that after driving the Russians from Galicia the German and Austrian armies hung in Galicia 30 thousand people suspected of sympathy with the enemy it will be easy to understand the words of Mr. Wright, who, in speaking of the number of killed in these conditions, said: "One would be too many, but taking these casualties as a standard with which to measure the excesses committed against them (the Jews), I am more astonished at their smallness than their greatness."

As to the responsibility for these excesses, even Sir Stuart Samuel said that (with the exception of the incidents in Lvov, Lida and Wilna) "the military authorities endeavoured to restrict the action of the soldiers as much as possible," and that "speaking generally, as the civil authority has been able to make its power effective, so the position in the

rear of the troops has become more and more satisfactory."

Other members of the two missions are more decided. Mr. Morgenthau says: "It would be...unfair to condemn the Polish nation as a whole for the violence committed by uncontrolled troops or local mobs." General Jadwin and Mr. H. H. Johnson state that "none of these excesses were instigated or approved by any responsible governmental authority, civil or military, "that everywhere the authorities ordered investigations and repression, that even in the sad incidents in Pinsk "no share can be attributed to any military official higher up, to any of the Polish civil officials, or to the few Poles resident in that district of White Russia." Mr. P. Wright says that the excesses took place at a period when "there was not much law for anyone," and adds that these events are small and trivial in comparison with the horrors of Bolshevism, the atrocities of the Ukrainian rising, and the brutalities of the struggle between the Germans and the Russians. In the opinion of Sir H. Rumbold "in view of the weakness of the central administration, and the original want of discipline in the Polish army, it would appear that the authorities could not be held responsible for the excesses"; that the condition of the Jews in Poland "bad as it may have been or may still be, has been far better than in most of the surrounding countries." And Sir H. Rumbold concludes: "It is giving the Jews very little real assistance to single out, as is sometimes done, for reprobation and protest, the country where they have perhaps suffered least."

II—Causes of the Anti-Jewish Movement in Poland

The reports of the two missions cite many causes which produced dislike of the Jews in Poland. No report, however, attributes it to religious prejudice, nor considers the excesses as religious persecution and a lack of religious tolerance. This is a point to be emphasized.

The report of Sir Stuart Samuel differs from all the others in that he does not see any other causes for this dislike except perhaps the malice of Poles revenging themselves for the election of Mr. Jagiello as deputy for Warsaw. It is difficult to consider as a real cause the phenomenal discovery of Sir Stuart that the Jews represent the only middle-class in Poland, which for the rest has only an aristocracy and a peasantry (?). He mentions also as a cause of unjust reproaches the use of the German language and the close relations with the Germans during the war, as well as the suspected taint of Bolshevism, at the same time remarking: "although it should not be matter of surprise if some of the younger generation of educated Jews, finding all avenues of advancement and fair play barred, should be found ready to listen to proposals for freedom and equality of opportunity." It is thus Sir Stuart defines Bolshevism, differing fundamentally in this respect from Mr. P. Wright, who is of the opinion that "the Bolshevik administration was a parody of the Tsarist administration, which itself was little better than a parody," and confirms

the large part taken by the Jews in this administration.

Mr. Morgenthau looks deeper, and finds political as well as economic causes, showing circumstances which inclined the Polish soldier to look upon the Jews as aliens, and hostile to Polish nationality, showing the chaotic state of affairs in Poland, the social unrest after the war which stimulated patriotic outbursts, sentiments incompatible with the nationalist declarations of some Jewish organizations, their demands for autonomy and their attitude during the Conference in Paris. General Jadwin and Mr. Johnson add to this the abnormal concentration of Jews in Poland, their readiness to go with the winning side, alleged speculations in foodstuffs, denunciations to the Germans, their conduct toward the enemies of Poland, and the danger of anti-Polish propaganda which has its source in Germany.

Mr. P. Wright gives many reasons for the strained relations existing between the Poles and the Jews. Some are of an economic nature. The Jews in Poland are small middlemen, hardly ever producers, capitalists of a few shillings for whom there is every year less and less room. They are unfit for the modern economic world, and are driven out by modern methods. "Polish workmen will not work with people whose personal habits are so unclean." "They are also driven into all sorts of illicit and fraudulent practices, and I think the Poles are right when they complain that too large a proportion of such offenses are Jewish." Mr. Wright then gives political reasons. The Litwaki sent by Russia into Poland, openly professed themselves partisans of conquering Russia, organized the Polish Jews and the Jewish Press, which fought against Polish autonomy. During the war it was with Jews that the Germans set up their organization to squeeze and drain Poland; they were their instrument. They fought with the Bolsheviks, often joining them because of the opportunity of doing business, especially speculation in food. Germanized, Russified, with Bolshevik connections, they appeared to the Poles as representatives of their oppressors. "It had seemed certain that one of the two, the German or the Russian Empire, must win, and that the Jews who had their money on both were safe; but the despised Poland came in first. Even now the Jews can hardly believe in its resurrection, and one of them told me it still seems to him a dream."

Mr. Wright made a thorough study of the social conditions of Polish Jews, and his unexpected conclusions are that eastern Jews with their own language, dress, calendar, with their narrow ritualism based on literally taken texts of books which rule their whole life, have a civilization which resembles the civilization of Islam, not only far removed from European civilization, but a civilization of the fifth century before Christ. The eastern Jews are "not civilized in our sense of the word, and it is impossible for the Poles to amalgamate with them, and difficult to mix with them or even to frame common laws with them." "The semi-assimilation of the larger masses of the eastern Jews is the very cause of the evil." It stimulates their nationalism. They will not be governed by men who are not of their race, language and religion. "They protest they

are not Poles; they are only Jews, but Polish subjects." The result is the demand for a national autonomy: all the Jews in Poland should figure on a separate register, they should have a representative body with extensive powers, separate budget and organization, their deputies to the Polish Parliament elected by Jews only, the right to use Yiddish in legal proceedings, schools, etc. This 14 per cent. of the population of Poland, with its antiquated Asiatic civilization, should be organized for all time as a separate national body, safe from the assimilating influence of the remaining 86 per cent. of the population—all this is "the very cause of the evil."

III—Possible Remedies

In speaking of possible remedies Mr. Morgenthau is sparing of words, but touches on many fundamental ideas. "To formulate a solution of the Jewish problem will necessitate a careful and broad study, not only of the economic condition of the Jews, but also of the exact requirements of Poland. These requirements will not be definitely known prior to the fixation of Polish boundaries, and the final regulation of Polish relations with Russia, with which the largest share of trade was previously conducted. It is recommended that the League of Nations, or the larger nations interested in this problem, send to Poland a commission consisting of recognized industrial, educational, agricultural, economic and vocational experts, which should remain there as long as necessary to examine the problem at its source." On another page he says: "When the boundaries of Poland are once fixed, and the internal organization of the country is perfected, the Polish Government will be increasingly able to protect all classes of Polish citizenry." In the opinion of Mr. Morgenthau "The minority must be encouraged to participate with their whole strength and influence in making Poland the great unified country that is required in Central Europe to combat the tremendous dangers that confront it. Poland must promptly develop its full strength, and by its conduct first merit and then receive the unstinted moral, financial and economic support of all the world which will ensure the future success of the Republic." He mentions the new Polish Constitution now in the making, the generous scope of which "has already been indicated by the special treaty with the Allied and Associated Powers, in which Poland has affirmed its fidelity to the principles of liberty and justice and the rights of minorities, and we may be certain that Poland will be faithful to its pledge, which is so conspicuously in harmony with the nation's best traditions." And Mr. Morgenthau concludes: "There must be but one class of citizens in Poland, all members of which enjoy equal rights and render equal duties."

General Jadwin and Mr. Johnson subscribe to the conclusions of Mr. Morgenthau, insisting on the necessity of "one and only one class of citizens," and advising Poland and Jews to "keep in mind American experience in public school development, and carefully to weigh the question whether the permanency of the separate school plan will be advisable." They believe that "once the military threat against Poland is re-

moved and the territorial uncertainty of the Republic is ended, the nation will be able to concentrate its energies on internal problems and, by the course of natural development, create a governmental system insuring equality, protection and prosperity to all elements of its population. The mission thoroughly believes that Poland has the raw materials of citizenship quite equal to this accomplishment."

General Jadwin and Mr. Johnson conclude by enumerating "the duties of the outside world toward Poland" concerning the establishment of the frontiers, protection against external interference, material aid in the nature of food, clothing and raw materials, study of over-population or under-industrialization, campaign by League of Nations of universal education in ideals of democracy and the disinterested counsel of the allied democracies based on their experience.

Mr. P. Wright, like all the other members of the two missions, sees the principal remedy in the opening up of Russia to the Jews: "If Russia is opened to the Jews, the Polish Jewish question may solve itself. The Jews who were pumped into Poland by the Tsarist Government will stream back there, and now sweep along with them very many of the Polish Jews." Besides this, as a logical consequence of his opinion concerning the low social level of the eastern Jews and their unfitness for modern conditions, Mr. Wright, in deep sympathy with the "immense mass of squalid and helpless poverty," sees the necessity of educating the eastern Jewish masses, of preaching to them "the gospel of the toothbrush," of cleanliness and of teaching them modern methods of earning a livelihood. He insists that western Jews may in this respect help their unfortunate eastern brethren, who "look with suspicion on anything that does not come from their co-religionists and Rabbis."

Sir S. Samuel, always original, differs widely from the other members of the missions. Besides the opening of Russia, facilities of emigration, introduction of new industries, equality of rights, and remedies qualified as unsuitable by Sir H. Rumbold, Sir Stuart sees only one other efficient remedy—the police. The Polish Government must be urged to carry out the clauses of the Minority Treaty in a spirit of sympathy with the Jews (this urging for sympathy is curious), boycotts must be decreed illegal and all publications advocating boycotts suspended. Sir Stuart overrates the power of the police and the efficiency of press gagging methods. He does not remember that the English authorities, at that period all-powerful in Ireland, were unable to protect from such proceedings a certain Captain Boycott, who was compelled to leave Ireland, such proceedings being thereafter known as "boycotting." Sir Stuart Samuel appears to be unaware that a remedy, to be efficient, must influence the feelings of the population, and the sole prohibition of giving expression to these feelings would be no remedy at all; on the contrary, it would stimulate ill-feeling against the Jews if the Polish Government were urged to suppress, for the benefit of the Jews, publications expressing the real sentiment of the Polish people. Such a prohibition would be worse than useless—the sentiment itself should be changed.

It is easy to draw one logical deduction from Sir

Stuart's suggestion. If political boycott should be suppressed, it could not be limited to anti-Jewish boycott. How about the anti-Polish boycott? Sir Stuart would, of course, find absurd a demand to suppress the boycott of the Polish State and the Polish nation, advocated with such unanimity and persistence all over the world. No Pole has ever expressed such an extravagant demand.

Conclusion

There are two circumstances which give a tragic stamp to the relations between the Poles and the Jews. Firstly, this dispute is not a historical necessity, it is not a natural consequence of centuries-old relations, but of an accidental *outside* cause, which fell on Poland in spite of the tendencies and efforts of her inhabitants. A second tragic circumstance is that this conflict began with such a lurid outburst at the very moment when Poland had regained her independence, and again took up the thread of her history as a State, a history whose annals record through centuries traditions of tolerance and liberty.

Before her dismemberment, when Poland was an independent State, the relations between Poles and Jews were satisfactory. Poland earned the title of "*Paradisus Judaeorum*," and although Jews flocked to Poland from other countries where they suffered persecution, there was every prospect of their assimilation as equal citizens. Religious tolerance was such that there were no religious dissensions, and national dissensions did not exist. In view of the traditional exclusiveness of the Jewish community the process of assimilation proceeded slowly, but it proceeded, and was not interrupted even by the Partitions. If the literature of a nation reflects its character, Polish literature is perhaps the only literature representing Jews as national patriots, headed by Jankiel in the national epics by Mickiewicz, Poland's greatest poet. This process reached its zenith in 1862, when A. Wielopolski was at the head of the administration of Congress Poland, and he, a Pole, proclaimed the emancipation and equal rights of the Jews, and this was immediately put in practice by Poles, not only politically, but socially. The consequence of this was that Jews took part in the Polish insurrection. But the insurrection was suppressed, the remainder of Poland's autonomy withdrawn and the rights of the Jews restricted. This was the act of Russia. And what is more, Russia, wishing to rid herself of Jews, began to send them to Poland. Poland could absorb socially her own Jews, bound to her by the traditions of centuries. She could not assimilate this foreign surplus. In the sixteenth century, the period of Poland's greatest prosperity, three and one-half per cent. of the population were Jews. At present the Jews represent 14 per cent. of the population. In addition, these arrivals brought with them, not only a stubborn separatism, but hatred of Poland. The result was the appearance in Poland of anti-Semitism—a guest hitherto unknown. Anti-Jewish sentiments increased when the inimical attitude of the "Litvak" and their adherents was so glaringly revealed during the Great War. It increased still more when the resuscitation of independent Poland was greeted by an organized, universal choir of hostile voices, discrediting the reborn nation.

This outburst of hatred was not justified by the so-called "pogroms," reduced to the real proportions, of which there were fewer victims than from the automobile casualties in New York during the same period. On the other hand these hostile voices from abroad aroused great irritation in Poland, from which suffered the poor masses of Jews in daily contact with Poles, with whom they have to live.

The members of the two missions propose different remedies for this state of affairs. Some of them—such as the establishment of Polish frontiers, peace, the opening of emigration to Russia, aid in economic development, etc.—find unanimous approval.

There is also general unanimity as to the necessity of equal rights for Jews, to which also *all* Poles agree. In this respect, nevertheless, there are certain differences of opinion of which adherents of equal rights are not always conscious. Equal rights, although confirmed in Articles of the Constitution and guaranteed by treaties, cannot really become part of the State organism until mutual hostility is removed. Mr. Morgenthau concludes his report with the words: "There must be but one class of citizens in Poland, all members of which enjoy equal rights and render equal duties." Even anti-Jewish Polish papers agree to this, but add: "Let the Jews do their duty, and then we will consider them as having equal rights"; the Jews say: "When we feel we have equal rights we will fulfill our duties." Are we to wait and see who begins first? No, this hostility must be removed, and relations brought about in which such a dilemma would be impossible.

This cannot, however, be attained by the compulsory methods so dear to Sir Stuart Samuel. The Government, the Polish people, declare themselves ready to co-operate in order to arrive at harmony and concord. Let us suppose, however, that this is not the case. Poland is a democratic State, and 86 per cent. of her population may impose their will on the Government. Let us suppose against all probability, that the will of the population is contrary to the clauses of the Minority Treaty. What then? If the League of Nations in defense of Jews applied forcible measures to Poland, it might obtain momentary results, but such action would certainly not improve internal relations between Jews and Poles; it would be more likely to create an atmosphere of bitterness favorable to the birth of real pogroms. With the Minority Treaty or without it, the sincerity of the concord is the essential point of the problem, not a concord obtained by compulsion. A sincere concord is barred by the demand of some Jews for national autonomy. With such an autonomy there would be not one, but two classes of citizens, condemned to eternal discord: one representing 86 per cent. of Christian citizens with normal rights, the other the 14 per cent of Jewish citizens enjoying special privileges in addition to normal rights.

Moreover, the fixing of the peculiarities of the Jewish minority would hinder the reconciliation and a harmonious co-existence. This can be attained only by removing the barriers dividing these two groups of citizens, and not by rendering them permanent.

Mr. Wright, in his report, represents the intellectual and cultural state of eastern Jews as such; that "it is impossible for the Poles to amalgamate with them, and

difficult to mix with them, or even to frame common laws for them." To render these differences permanent would be to make impossible a friendly co-existence.

In calling attention to this, General Jadwin and Mr. Johnson point to American experience in public school development. This is based on *Americanization*, not interfering in any way with the freedom and equality of citizens, but moulding them into one vital organism. Similarly *Polonization* on the same broad and liberal principles, must form the basis of Polish-Jewish relations if Poland also is to be a vital organism. To remove all that divides, and to promote all that approaches and conciliates—that is the principal task. National, like human organisms, cannot suffer the presence of foreign bodies: they must assimilate or reject them. No League of Nations is strong enough to grant "national autonomy" to a splinter driven into a living body. The laws of physiology are stronger than all human laws.

Poland was slowly and peacefully assimilating her own Jews, when the Russian Government drove into her midst the masses of Russian Jews, like a splinter in a human body. When these foreign masses begin their return journey to Russia, the wound will cease to fester and will begin to heal. In the meantime, nothing inflamed this wound so much as the universal anti-Polish campaign on account of alleged Polish pogroms. This campaign irritated the Poles and drove them into the anti-Semitic camp; this campaign encouraged that

part of the Jews inimical to Poland to look abroad for support against their own country; this campaign paralyzed on both sides the efforts of those who desired reconciliation and concord.

Even were she not bound by the clauses of the Minority Treaty, Poland is forced to settle this internal dispute, and heal the wound, which not only enfeebles, but pains her. She must accomplish this for her own good and for her own future. Western Jews who have become an organic part of modern society, and have great influence with their eastern brothers, can in this respect render priceless service to Poland, as well as to their Polish co-believers.

During his stay in Poland, after investigations on the spot, Mr. Henry Morgenthau constantly endeavored to act as a conciliator, to encourage confidence and concord, and to stimulate common efforts toward the common good. The Polish-Jewish problem will be the quicker and the better solved, the more numerous the followers Mr. Morgenthau finds among western Jews: people of good will, proclaiming, not hatred and boycott, but love and concord. Among the Polish nation are not lacking people who have adopted this watchword.

Then, without difficulty and outside pressure, as a normal result, will arise in Poland one class of citizens, enjoying equal rights and rendering equal duties, as desired not only by Mr. Morgenthau, the eminent American citizen of Jewish faith, but also by even the most catholic citizens of Poland.

The Polish Treaty

Covenant That Assures Liberty to Minorities in Poland—M. Clemenceau's Letter*

When the principal allied and associated powers signed the German Peace Treaty on June 28, 1919, they also signed another important pact to which the Polish delegates had just affixed their signatures. This treaty with Poland was the first of a series of formal agreements binding the new States of Eastern Europe to maintain the institutions of modern political freedom under the aegis of the League of Nations. Under the treaty Poland agreed to protect minorities against discrimination, to assume payment of such a share of the Russian debt as should be assigned to her by the Interallied Commission, and to support important international postal, railway, telegraphic, and other conventions incidental to the establishment of a national standing.

A statement issued at Paris on June 30 by Louis Marshall, President of the Combined Jewish Committees of the World, contained this comment on the treaty:

"Nothing thus far accomplished by the Peace Conference exceeds in importance the Polish treaty signed at Versailles, which is the first of a series of conventions with the new States of Eastern Europe to protect all racial, religious, and linguistic minorities. It is literally a charter of liberty and the final act of emancipation of those who for centuries have been bereft of elemental human rights. Had nothing else been achieved in Paris than the pronouncement that henceforth the rights of minorities are to be respected and safeguarded, this act of righteousness alone would have evidenced a memorable advance in the onward march of civilization. It enshrines in the law of nations the eternal principles of human liberty that constitute the distinctive features of the American Constitution."

Explanatory Letter

In transmitting this document to the Polish Government on June 24, Premier Clemenceau, as President of

the Peace Conference, addressed a long letter to Premier Paderewski at Warsaw setting forth the reasons for the various conditions laid down in it. The letter began as follows:

On behalf of the Supreme Council of the principal allied and associated powers, I have the honor of communicating to you herewith, in its final form, the text of the treaty which, in accordance with Article 93 of the treaty of peace with Germany, Poland will be asked to sign on the occasion of the confirmation of her recognition as an independent State and of the transference to her of the territories included in the former German Empire which are assigned to her by the said treaty.

The principal provisions were communicated to the Polish delegation in Paris in May last and were subsequently communicated direct to the Polish Government through the French Minister at Warsaw. The council since has had the advantage of the suggestions which you were good enough to convey in the memorandum of June 16, and as the result of a study of the suggestion modifications have been introduced in the text of the treaty. The council believes that it will be found that, by the modification, the principal points to which attention was drawn in your memorandum have, in so far as they relate to specific provisions of the treaty, been adequately covered.

In formally communicating to you the final decision of the principal allied and associated powers in this matter I should desire to take this opportunity of explaining in a more formal manner than has hitherto been employed the conditions by which the principal allied and associated powers have been guided in dealing with the question.

*Reprinted from the New York Times Current History, August 1919.

Guiding Principles

One—in the first place, I would point out that the treaty does not constitute any fresh departure. It has for long been the established procedure of the public law of Europe that when a State is created, or even when large accessions of territory are made to an established State, the joint and formal recognition by the great powers should be accompanied by the requirement that such State should, in the form of a binding international convention, undertake to comply with certain principles of government. This prin-

ciple, for which there are numerous other precedents, received the explicit sanction when, at the last great assembly of European powers—the Congress of Berlin—the sovereignty and independence of Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania were recognized. It is desirable to recall the words used on this occasion by the British, French, Italian and German plenipotentiaries, as recorded in the protocol of June 28, 1878.

Premier Clemenceau here quoted from Lord Salisbury, William Henry Waddington, French plenipotentiary at the Berlin Congress; Prince Bismarck, Count de Launay, Italian plenipotentiary, and Count Andrassy of Austria-Hungary, who made declarations on the occasion in question emphasizing the necessity of establishing the principle of religious liberty. Premier Clemenceau then resumed:

Two—The principal allied and associated powers are of the opinion that they would be false to the responsibility which rests upon them if on this occasion they departed from what has become an established tradition. In this connection I must also recall to your consideration the fact that it is through the endeavors and sacrifices of the powers in whose name I am addressing you that the Polish Nation owes the recovery of its independence. It is by their decision that sovereignty is being re-established over the territories in question, and that the inhabitants of these territories are being incorporated in the Polish Nation. It is on the support which these powers will afford to the League of Nations that the future Poland will, to a large extent, depend for the secure possession of these territories.

There rests, therefore, upon these powers an obligation which they cannot evade to secure in the most permanent and solemn form guarantees for certain essential rights which will afford to the inhabitants the necessary protection, whatever changes may take place in the internal constitution of the Polish State.

It is in accordance with this obligation that clause 93 was inserted in the treaty of peace with Germany. This clause relates only to Poland, but a similar clause applies the same principles to Czechoslovakia, and other clauses have been inserted in the treaty of peace with Austria, and will be inserted in those with Hungary and Bulgaria, under which similar obligations will be undertaken by other States which, under those treaties, receive large accessions of territory.

The consideration of these facts would be sufficient to show that by the requirement addressed to Poland at the time when it is receiving in the most solemn manner the joint recognition of the re-establishment of its sovereignty and independence, and when large accessions of territory are being assigned to it, no doubt is thrown upon the sincerity of the desire of the Polish Government and the Polish Nation to maintain the general principles of justice and liberty. Any such doubt would be far from the intention of the principal allied and associated powers.

Three—It is indeed true that the new treaty differs in form from earlier conventions dealing with similar matters. The change of form is a necessary consequence and an essential part of the new system of international relations which is now being built up by the establishment of the League of Nations. Under the older system the guarantee for the execution of similar provisions was vested in the great powers. Experience has shown that this was in practice ineffective, and it was also open to the criticism that it might give to the great powers, either individually or in combination, a right to interfere in the internal constitution of the States affected, which could be used for political purposes.

Under the new system the guarantee is intrusted to the League of Nations. The clauses dealing with this guarantee have been carefully drafted, so as to make it clear that Poland will not be in any way under the tutelage of those powers who are signatory to the treaty.

I should desire, moreover, to point out to you that provision has been inserted in the treaty by which disputes arising out of its provisions may be brought before the court of the League of Nations. In this way differences which might arise will be removed from the political sphere and placed in the hand of a judicial court, and it is hoped that thereby an impartial decision will be facilitated, while at the same time any danger of political interferences by the powers in the internal affairs of Poland will be avoided.

Four—The particular provisions to which Poland and the other States will be asked to adhere differ to some extent from those which were imposed on the new States at the Congress of Berlin. But the obligations imposed upon new States seeking recognition have at all times varied with the particular circumstances.

New Provisions Necessary

Premier Clemenceau here pointed out that obligations with regard to the Belgian provinces were undertaken by the Netherlands in 1814, when those provinces were annexed; that when the Kingdom of Greece was established it was determined that its Government could be both monarchical and constitutional, and that Greece, when she annexed Thessaly, accepted a stipulation that the lives, property, honor, religion, and customs of the inhabitants should be respected and all their rights protected. He continued:

The situation with which the powers have now to deal is new, and experience has shown that new provisions are necessary. The territories now being transferred both to Poland and to other States inevitably include a large population speaking languages and belonging to races different from that of the people with whom they will be incorporated. Unfortunately, the races have been estranged by long years of bitter hostilities. It is believed that these populations will be more easily reconciled to their new position if they know that from the very beginning they have assured protection and adequate guarantees against any danger of unjust treatment or oppression. The very knowledge that these guarantees exist will, it is hoped, materially help the reconciliation which all desire, and will, indeed, do much to prevent the necessity of its enforcement.

Five—To turn to the individual clauses of the present treaty, Article 2 guarantees to all inhabitants those elementary rights which are, as a matter of fact, secured in every civilized State. Clauses 3 to 6 are designed to insure that all the genuine residents in the territories now transferred to Polish sovereignty shall in fact be assured of the full privileges of citizenship. Articles 7 and 8, which are in accordance with precedent, provide against any discrimination against those Polish citizens who by their religion, their language, or by their race differ from the large mass of the Polish population. It is understood that, far from raising any objection to the manner of the articles, the Polish Government have already, of their own accord, declared their firm intention of basing their institutions on the cardinal principles enunciated therein.

Protection for Jews

The following articles are of a rather different nature, in that they provide special privileges to certain group of these minorities: * * *

Six—Clauses 10 and 12 deal specifically with the Jewish citizens of Poland. The information at the disposal of the principal allied and associated powers as to the existing relations between the Jews and the other Polish citizens has led them to the conclusion that, in view of the historical development of the Jewish question and the great animosity aroused by it, special protection is necessary for the Jews of Poland. These clauses have been limited to the minimum which seems necessary under the circumstances of the present day, viz., the maintenance of Jewish schools and the protection of the Jews in the religious observance of their Sabbath.

It is believed that these stipulations will not create any obstacle to the political unity of Poland. They do not constitute any recognition of the Jews as a separate political community within the Polish State. The educational provisions contain nothing beyond what is in fact provided in the educational institutions of many highly organized modern States. There is nothing inconsistent with the sovereignty of the State in recognizing and supporting schools in which children shall be brought up in the religious influences to which they are accustomed in their home. Ample safeguards against any use of non-Polish language to encourage a spirit of national separation have been provided in the express acknowledgment that the provisions of this treaty do not prevent the Polish State from making the Polish language obligatory in all its schools and educational institutions.

In Part 7 of his letter Premier Clemenceau dealt with the economic clauses of the treaty, such as freedom of transit and Poland's adhesion to certain international conventions, and pointed out that the powers had not been actuated by any desire to secure special commercial advantages for themselves. He added:

In conclusion, I desire to express to you on behalf of the allied and associated powers the very sincere satisfaction which they feel at the re-establishment of Poland as an important State. They cordially welcome the Polish Nation on its re-entry into the family of nations. They recall the great services which the ancient Kingdom of Poland rendered to Europe both in public affairs and by its contributions to the progress of mankind, which is the common work of all civilized nations. They believe that the voice of Poland will add to the wisdom of their common deliberations in the cause of peace and harmony; that its influence will be used to further the spirit of liberty and justice both in internal and external affairs, and that thereby it will help in the work of reconciliation between the nations which, with the conclusion of peace, will be the common task of humanity.

The text of the treaty itself, signed by Poland and the allied and associated powers on June 28, 1919, is given in full on the next four pages.

TEXT OF TREATY SIGNED BY POLAND

The United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, the principal allied and associated powers, on the one hand; and Poland, on the other hand:

WHEREAS, The allied and associated powers have, by the success of their arms, restored to the Polish Nation the independence of which it had been unjustly deprived; and

WHEREAS, By the proclamation of March 30, 1917, the Government of Russia assented to the re-establishment of an independent Polish State; and,

WHEREAS, The Polish State, which now, in fact, exercises sovereignty over those portions of the former Russian

Empire which are inhabited by a majority of Poles, has already been recognized as a sovereign and important State by the principal allied and associated powers; and

WHEREAS, Under the treaty of peace concluded with Germany by the allied and associated powers, a treaty of which Poland is a signatory, certain portions of the former German Empire will be incorporated in the territory of Poland; and

WHEREAS, Under the terms of the said treaty of peace, the boundaries of Poland not already laid down are to be subsequently determined by the principal allied and associated powers;

The United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, on the one hand, confirming their recognition of the Polish State, constituted within the said limits as a sovereign and independent member of the family of nations and being anxious to insure the execution of the provisions of Article 93 of the said treaty of peace with Germany;

Poland, on the other hand, desiring to conform her institutions to the principles of liberty and justice, and to give a sure guarantee to the inhabitants of the territory over which she assumed sovereignty; for this purpose the following representatives of the high contracting parties:

The President of the United States of America; his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British dominions beyond the seas, Emperor of India; the President of the French Republic; his Majesty the King of Italy; his Majesty the Emperor of Japan, and the President of the Polish Republic, after having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

CHAPTER I.

ARTICLE 1—Poland undertakes that the stipulations contained in Articles 2 and 8 of this chapter shall be recognized as fundamental law, and that no law, regulation, or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation, or official action prevail over them.

ARTICLE 2—Poland undertakes to assure full and complete protection to life and liberty to all inhabitants of Poland, without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race, or religion.

All inhabitants of Poland shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion, or belief whose practices are not inconsistent with public order or public morals.

ARTICLE 3—Poland admits and declares to be Polish nationals ipso facto Hungarian or Russian nationals habitually resident, at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty, in territory which is or may be recognized as forming part of Poland under the treaties with Germany, Austria, Hungary, or Russia, respectively, but subject to any provisions in the said treaties relating to persons who became resident in such territory after a specified date.

Nevertheless, the persons referred to above who are over 12 years of age will be entitled under the conditions contained in the said treaties to opt for any other nationality which may be open to them. Option by a husband will cover his wife and option by parents will cover their children under 18 years of age.

Persons who have exercised the above right to option must, except where it is otherwise provided in the treaty of peace with Germany, transfer within the succeeding twelve months their place of residence to the State for which they have opted. They will be entitled to retain their immovable property in Polish territory. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export duties may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property.

ARTICLE 4—Poland admits and declares to be Polish nationals, ipso facto and without the requirement of any formality, persons of German, Austrian, Hungarian, or Russian nationality who were born in the said territory of parents habitually resident there, even if at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty they are not themselves habitually resident there.

Nevertheless, within two years after the coming into force of the present treaty, these persons may make a declaration before the competent Polish authorities in the country in which they are resident, stating that they abandon Polish nationality, and they will then cease to be considered as Polish nationals. In this connection a declaration by a husband will cover his wife, and a declaration by parents will cover their children under 18 years of age.

ARTICLE 5—Poland undertakes to put no hindrance in the way of the exercise of the right which the persons concerned have, under the treaties concluded or to be concluded by the allied and associated powers with Germany, Austria, Hungary, or Russia, to choose whether or not they will acquire Polish nationality.

ARTICLE 6—All persons born in Polish territory who are not born nationals of another State shall ipso facto become Polish nationals.

ARTICLE 7—All Polish nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language, or religion.

Differences of religion, creed, or confession shall not prejudice any Polish national in matters relating to the en-

joyment of civil or political rights, as for admission to public employments, functions, and honors, or the exercise of professions and industries.

No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any Polish national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the press, or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings.

Notwithstanding any establishment by the Polish Government of an official language, adequate facilities shall be given to Polish nationals of non-Polish speech for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, before the courts.

ARTICLE 8—Polish nationals who belong to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the Polish nationals. In particular they shall have an equal right to establish, manage, and control at their own expense charitable, religious, and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein.

ARTICLE 9—Poland will provide, in the public educational system in towns and districts in which a considerable proportion of Polish nationals of other than Polish speech are residents, adequate facilities for insuring that in the primary schools instruction shall be given to the children of such Polish nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision shall not prevent the Polish Government from making the teaching of the Polish language obligatory in the said schools.

In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Polish nationals belonging to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of public funds under the State, municipal, or other budgets, for educational, religious, or charitable purposes.

The provisions of this article shall apply to Polish citizens of German speech only in that part of Poland which was German territory on August 1, 1914.

ARTICLE 10—Educational committees appointed locally by the Jewish communities of Poland will, subject to the general control of the State, provide for the distribution of the proportional share of public funds allocated to Jewish schools in accordance with Article 9, and for the organization and management of these schools.

The provision of Article 9 concerning the use of language in schools shall apply to these schools.

ARTICLE 11—Jews shall not be compelled to perform any act which constitutes a violation of their Sabbath, nor shall they be placed under any disability by reason of their refusal to attend courts of law or to perform any legal business on their Sabbath. This provision, however, shall not exempt Jews from such obligations as shall be imposed upon all other Polish citizens for the necessary purposes of military service, national defense, or the preservation of public order.

Poland declares her intention to refrain from ordering or permitting elections, whether general or local, to be held on a Saturday, nor will registration for electoral or other purposes be compelled to be performed on a Saturday.

ARTICLE 12—Poland agrees that the stipulations in the foregoing articles, so far as they affect persons belonging to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities, constitute obligations of international concern, and shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. They shall not be modified without the assent of a majority of the Council of the League of Nations. The United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan hereby agree not to withhold their assent from any modification in these articles which is in due form assented to by a majority of the Council of the League of Nations.

Poland agrees that any member of the Council of the League of Nations shall have the right to bring to the attention of the Council any infraction, or any danger of infraction, of any of these obligations, and that the Council may thereupon take such action and give such direction as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances.

Poland further agrees that any difference of opinion as to question of law or fact arising out of these articles, between the Polish Government and any of the principal allied and associated powers, or any other power a member of the

Council of the League of Nations, shall be held to be a dispute of an international character under Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The Polish Government hereby consents that any such dispute shall, if the other party thereof demands, be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The decision of the Permanent Court shall be final and shall have the same force and effect as an award under Article 13 of the covenant.

CHAPTER II.

ARTICLE 13—Each of the principal allied and associated powers, on the one part, and Poland on the other shall be at liberty to appoint diplomatic representatives to reside in their respective capitals, as well as Consul Generals, Consuls, Vice Consuls, and Consular Agents, to reside in the towns and ports of their respective territories.

Consul Generals, Consuls, Vice Consuls, and Consular Agents, however, shall not enter upon their duties until they have been admitted in the usual manner by the Government in the territory of which they are stationed.

Consul Generals, Consuls, Vice Consuls, and Consular Agents shall enjoy all the facilities, privileges, exemptions, and immunities of every kind which are or shall be granted to Consular officers of the most favored nation.

ARTICLE 14—Pending the establishment of a permanent tariff by the Polish Government goods originating in the allied and associated States shall not be subject to any higher duties on importation into Poland than the most favorable rates of duty applicable to goods of the same kind under either the German, Austro-Hungarian, or Russian customs tariffs on July 1, 1914.

ARTICLE 15—Poland undertakes to make no treaty, convention, or arrangement, and to take no other action, which will prevent her from joining in any general agreement for the equitable treatment of the commerce of other States that may be concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations within five years from the coming into force of the present treaty.

Poland also undertakes to extend to all the allied and associated States any favors or privileges in customs matters which they may grant during the same period of five years to any State with which, since August, 1914, the Allies have been at war, or to any State which may have concluded with Austria special customs arrangements as provided for in the treaty of peace to be concluded with Austria.

ARTICLE 16—Pending the conclusion of the general agreement referred to above, Poland undertakes to treat on the same footing as national vessels, or vessels of the most favored nation, the vessels of all the allied and associated States which accord similar treatment to Polish vessels.

By way of exception from this provision, the right of Poland or any other allied or associated State to confine her maritime coasting trade to national vessels is expressly reserved.

ARTICLE 17—Pending the conclusion, under the auspices of the League of Nations, of a general convention to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit, Poland undertakes to accord freedom of transit of persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons, and mails in transit to or from any allied or associated State over Polish territory, including territorial waters, and to treat them at least as favorably as the persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons, and mails respectively of Polish or of any other more favored nationality, origin, importation, or ownership, as regards facilities, charges, restrictions, and all other matters.

All charges imposed in Poland on such traffic in transit shall be reasonable, having regard to the conditions of the traffic. Goods in transit shall be exempt from all customs or other duties. Tariffs for transit traffic across Poland and tariffs between Poland and any allied or associated power, involving through tickets or waybills, shall be established at the request of that allied or associated power.

Freedom of transit will extend to postal telegraphic and telephonic services.

It is agreed that no allied or associated power can claim the benefit of these provisions on behalf of any part of its territory in which reciprocal treatment is not accorded with respect to the same subject matter.

If within a period of five years from the coming into force of the present treaty no general convention as aforesaid shall have been concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations. Poland shall be at liberty at any time thereafter to give twelve months' notice to the Secretary General of the League of Nations to terminate obligations of this article.

ARTICLE 18—Pending the conclusion of a general convention on the international régime of waterways, Poland undertakes to apply to the river system of the Vistula (including the Bug and the Narew) the régime applicable to international waterways set out in Articles 332 to 337 of the treaty of peace with Germany.

ARTICLE 19—Poland undertakes to adhere, within twelve months of the coming into force of the present treaty, to the international conventions specified in Annex I.

Poland undertakes to adhere to any new convention, concluded with the approval of the Council of the League of Nations within five years of the coming into force of the present treaty, to replace any of the international instruments specified in Annex I.

The Polish Government undertakes within twelve months to notify the Secretary General of the League of Nations

whether or not Poland desires to adhere to either or both of the international conventions specified in Annex II.

Until Poland has adhered to the two conventions last specified in Annex I, she agrees, on condition of reciprocity, to protect by effective measures the industrial, literary and artistic property of nationals of the allied and associated States. In the case of any allied or associated State not adhering to the said conventions, Poland agrees to continue to afford such effective protection on the same conditions until the conclusion of a special bilateral treaty or agreement for that purpose with such allied or associated State.

Pending her adhesion to the other conventions specified in Annex I, Poland will secure to the nationals of the allied and associated powers the advantages to which they would be entitled under the said conventions.

Poland further agrees, on condition of reciprocity, to recognize and protect all rights in any industrial, literary, or artistic property belonging to the nationals of the allied and associated States now in force or which, but for the war, would have been in force in any part of her territories before their transfer to Poland. For such purposes they will accord the extensions of time agreed to in Articles 307 and 308 of the treaty with Germany.

ANNEX I.

Telegraphic and Radio-Telegraphic Conventions

International Telegraphic Convention signed at St. Petersburg July 10-22, 1875.

Regulations and tariffs drawn up by the International Telegraph Conference signed at Lisbon June 11, 1908.

International Radio-Telegraphic Convention, July 5, 1912.

Railway Conventions

Conventions and arrangements signed at Berne on Oct. 14, 1890, Sept. 20, 1893, July 16, 1895, and Sept. 19, 1906, and the current supplementary provisions made under those conventions.

Agreement on May 15, 1886, regarding the sealing of railway trucks subject to custom inspections, and protocol of May 18, 1907.

Agreement of May 15, 1886, regarding the technical standardization of railways, as modified on May 18, 1907.

Sanitary Convention

Convention of Dec. 3, 1903.

Other Conventions

Convention of Sept. 26, 1906, for the suppression of night work for women.

Convention of Sept. 26, 1906, for the suppression of the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches.

Conventions of May 18, 1904, and May 4, 1910, regarding the suppression of the white slave traffic.

Convention of May 4, 1910, regarding the suppression of obscene publications.

International conventions of Paris of March 20, 1883, as revised at Washington in 1911, for the protection of industrial property.

International convention of Sept. 9, 1886, revised at Berlin on Nov. 13, 1908, and completed by the additional protocol signed at Berne on March 20, 1914, for the protection of literary and artistic works.

ANNEX II.

Agreement of Madrid of April 14, 1891, for the prevention of false indications of origin on goods, revised at Washington in 1911, and agreement of Madrid of April 14, 1891, for the international registration of trade marks, revised at Washington in 1911.

ARTICLE 20—All rights and privileges accorded by the foregoing articles to the allied and associated States shall be accorded equally to all States members of the League of Nations.

The present treaty, of which the French and English texts are both authentic, shall be ratified. It shall come into force at the same time as the treaty of peace with Germany.

The deposit of ratifications shall be made at Paris.

Powers of which the seat of the Government is outside Europe will be entitled merely to inform the Government of the French Republic through their diplomatic representative at Paris that their ratification has been given. In that case they must transmit the instrument of ratification as soon as possible.

A procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications will be drawn up.

The French Government will transmit to all the signatory powers a certified copy of the procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications.

ARTICLE 21—Poland agrees to assume responsibility for such proportion of the Russian public debt and other Russian public liabilities of any kind as may be assigned to her under a special convention between the principal allied and associated powers on the one hand and Poland on the other, to be prepared by a commission appointed by the above States. In the event of the commission not arriving at an agreement, the point at issue shall be referred for immediate arbitration to the League of Nations.

In faith whereof the above-named plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty.

Done at Versailles, (June 28, 1919), in a single copy which will remain deposited in the archives of the French Republic, and of which authenticated copies will be transmitted to each of the signatory powers.

**THE JEWS OF AMERICA SHOULD ANSWER
IF THIS IS TO BE CONSIDERED THEIR ATTITUDE
TOWARD A POLAND RAVAGED BY
SIX YEARS OF WAR AND ACKNOWLEDGED
BY THE CHRISTIAN WORLD AS HAVING
SAVED EUROPE FROM BOLSHEVISM.**

Striking Back at Poland.

Editor Globe:—The Polish government will soon make an attempt to raise \$50,000,000 in the United States. American Jewry must see to it that the Polish loan drive fails. It is the duty of every Jew worthy of the name to arouse the American people to a state of mind that will make it impossible for any European government to raise money in this country unless that government gives adequate guarantees to extend civil liberty and racial equality to all people within its borders. Poland has failed to do this by her Jewish people. American Jewry must retaliate in the only way it can to hit the Polish government.

I suggest that an organization of Jews, drawn from every walk in life, regardless of political affiliation, be formed. This body to direct its energies toward defeating the Polish money drives, boycotting Polish trade, and creating an anti-Polish government feeling in the United States.

There are some who will say this course is dangerous, for it will result in even greater outrages against our people in Poland. No, Poland has been murdering Jews because there have been none to say nay. If we strike back the pogroms in Poland will cease. Poland needs money, food, and clothing. There is only one country from which Poland can get these things, and that country happens to be the land where the Jews are entrenched powerfully enough to smash Poland where it will hurt most.

ALEXANDER FISHMAN.
Brooklyn, Oct. 15.

"It is giving the Jews very little real assistance to single out, as is sometimes done, for reprobation and protest, the country where they have perhaps suffered least."

—Sir H. RUMBOLD

British Minister to Poland